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Dariush Kargar

Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma

Iranian Conceptions of the Other World

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Abstract

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The present thesis consists of an edition of an Iranian literary work whose theme is a journey to the Other World, namely the Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma. The version of this work which is here edited and commented on is a prose version in the Zoroastrian Persian language. A discussion about Iranian conceptions of the Other World is also an integrated part of the thesis.

The text of the Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma is edited employing a text critical method by using six manuscripts. The oldest manuscript, which has been used as the base manuscript for editing the text, was written in 896 A.Y. (Yazdgirdī)/1527 A.D. The edited text is also translated into English, and followed by a Commentary on names, unusual words and Zoroastrian terms used in the text.

Other Iranian documents about journeys to the Other World are studied in this thesis as well, and all are compared to the Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma. The Zoroastrian Persian version of this work is also compared to its Parsig version.

The differences between the Zoroastrian Persian and the Parsig versions indicate that they have their background in two different world views. To prove this theory, some significant elements in the Zoroastrian Persian version, which demonstrate that this is a pre-Zoroastrian epic narrative, have been compared to some elements in the Parsig version that show that this is a religious Zoroastrian account. Possible reasons for the change in Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma from apre-Zoroastrian epic narrative into a Zoroastrian-religious one are also suggested.

A king named Davānūs is one of the Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma personages. In an appendix, the historical personality of Davānūs is discussed with reference to Arabic, Persian and Greek historiography.

Keywords: Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma, Vīrāf, journey to the Other World, Zoroastrian Persian, Parsig, critical edition, shamanism, Davānūs

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In the memory of my beloved and lost:
My father and brothers;

To my dearest companions
far away or near:
My mother, sister and brother,
My wife, daughter and son.

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Contents

English Section

Zoroastrian Persian Section

System of transcription

The transcription system for Persian in this thesis follows the table found on the following page. It is worth mentioning that words from other languages found in the edited text, for instance words of Avestan and Parsig origin, have all been transcribed on the basis of the same method.

The transcription method for Parsig words is based on MacKenzie (1990), and that of Avestan words on Hoffmann (1975-1976).

List of transcription

Consonants

ء	’
ب	b
پ	p
ت	t
ث	ṯ
ج	j
چ	č
ح	ḥ
خ	x (kh in names)
د	d
ذ	ż
ر	r
ز	z
ژ	ž
س	s
ش	š
ص	ṣ
ض	ẓ
ط	ṭ
ظ	ẕ
ع	‘
غ	ġ
ف	f
ق	q
ک	k
گ	g
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	v
ه	h
ی	y

Short Vowels

َ	a
ِ	i
ُ	u

Long Vowels

آ	ā
ِی	ī
ُو	ū

Diphthongs

َو	au
َی	ay

Others

ـِیّ	iyy
خوا	xwā

I. Introduction

Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma is one of the most highly esteemed literary works among Zoroastrians, after the *Avesta*. It is the journey report of a man named Vīrāf to the Other World. After drinking a substance, he falls asleep. Then, guided by two of Ohrmazd's Holy Immortals, he visits the Other World. The first part of the Other World is the place of those who pass the time in joy and happiness, because they have been virtuous in this world. The other part is the place of those who are in constant pain and torment, because they have been evil-doers in the present world. And finally, the third place is where those whose good and evil deeds have been equal in the world are to be encountered. When he woke up, Vīrāf asked for his journey report to be written down, for all people to be aware of what it is like in the Other World.

The influence and importance of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* was so great that during several centuries it was translated into all the languages in use by the Zoroastrians: Parsig, Pazand, Sanskrit, Old Gujarati, Zoroastrian Persian (several prose and versified versions), and New Gujarati (several versions).[1] J. A. Pope published the first translation of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* into English in 1816. Due to the importance and value of this work, researchers of Iranian studies throughout the world have been engaged either in translating the text into different languages or in researching about the work during two hundred years after Pope. The existence of several different translations of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* into French, English and Persian either in prose or in verse, in addition to much other research done around the work itself, e.g. comparing it with similar works in other cultures, shows the importance and value of the work.

The aim of the present thesis is to edit the Zoroastrian Persian prose version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and to conduct research around it.

The first chapter consists of an introduction.

In the second chapter the background and history of the different versions of the work are discussed. The name of Vīrāf, his personality and his time are also studied in this chapter. Furthermore, all other works available that mention Vīrāf's name and his journey are referred to and discussed. In this

[1] The Sasanids attempted to remove the Parthian heritage completely and managed to do it in part. Therefore, unfortunately, there is no trace of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in the Pahlavānīg language (Parthian) nowadays, even if there may have been such a thing at one time.

chapter, for the first time, an Arabic version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is presented. Illustrated versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* are discussed in this chapter as well. A conspectus of all versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in different languages is presented at the end of the chapter.

The third chapter discusses the Other World in other Iranian works in different languages from ancient times to the present, the main subject of which is a journey to the Other World. The accounts in these works are compared to the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* with particular focus on similarities.

The fourth chapter identifies previous research related to the Zoroastrian Persian prose version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*.

The fifth chapter describes the manuscripts of the Zoroastrian Persian prose version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. All the twelve manuscripts of this document which are known, most of which are kept in various libraries all over the world are introduced in this chapter. The six manuscripts which were used to edit the text body for the present thesis have been fully studied and described in detail. The editing method of the text is also presented in this chapter. A selection from the text itself of words such as ancient verbs and various grammatical structures is listed. A Stemma Codicum of the manuscripts used to edit the text is found at the end of the chapter.

The sixth chapter is a translation of the Zoroastrian Persian prose version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* into English. This is the first time that the full Zoroastrian Persian version is published entirely in a major world language.

The seventh chapter consists of commentaries to elucidate the meaning of certain words, such as religious terms, celebrations, and mythic and Zoroastrian's personages mentioned in the text.

The purpose of the eighth chapter is to compare the Zoroastrian Persian prose version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* to that in Parsig. There is a discussion of possible reasons for the fact that some parts of the account are found in one version but not in the other, or that some sections are more expanded and detailed in one of the versions.

The ninth chapter compares the Zoroastrian Persian and Parsig versions from a new point of view. It ventures the theory that the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is originally a pre-Zoroastrian document. By describing in detail the differences between the Zoroastrian Persian and the Parsig version, it indicates the antiquity of the Zoroastrian Persian version in comparison to the Parsig version. Then an attempt is made to demonstrate by evidence from the two versions that the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is a very ancient narrative, belonging to the pre-Zoroastrian Iranian society where Vīrāf, the shaman, had travelled to the Other World and reported on his journey in an originally non-religious epical narration. Some traces remain in the Zoroastrian Persian version from this epical narration.

The appendix discusses a personage called Davānūs, who is visited by Vīrāf in the Other World. The name of this person has constantly been discussed during the two hundred years that have passed from the beginning of

research around the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. Arabic, Persian and the Greek historical accounts have been studied about this personality for the first time in this chapter in order to prove that Davānūs is the Achaemenid king Darius I.

A bibliography is found at the end of the English section of the book.

The Zoroastrian Persian section begins from the right side of the book since Persian is read from right to left. It consists of the Zoroastrian Persian text of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* edited according to the critical editing method.

Since the text body of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* contains old words, terms and verbs, which give this work a special value and importance, an index is provided for selected old words, terms and verbs after the Zoroastrian Persian text.

Previous Research

For the first time, the full text of the Zoroastrian Persian prose version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* has been edited and translated in this thesis. Prior to this, on the basis of a manuscript, manuscript M, only the introduction of this version was translated and published by Haug and West in 1872. Their work was based only on one manuscript, and all the errors and omissions of that manuscript are repeated as well. After them, Mu'īn (1946) edited and published the same introduction on the basis of Haug and West's edition. However, since the manuscript M was not available to Mu'īn, and he did not have access to other manuscripts, all the misreadings by Haug and West were also repeated in his edition. 'Afīfī (1964) published the edited text of Mu'īn as the preface of a book entitled the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* versified by Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū.

Apart from these works, there are presentations of different manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in library catalogues as well as scattered hints to these manuscripts, all mentioned in chapte IV.

The Aim

At the beginning, the main object of this thesis was to edit the Zoroastrian Persian version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, to translate the text into English and to compare it with the Parsig version. However, the aim was extended in the course of the work, and some other objectives were added along with the primary aim. Research concerning Iranian conceptions of journeys to the Other World on the basis of all texts available is one such aim. Others are research about all versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* which have survived, about the origin of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and its initial version, and finally about one of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* personages named Davānūs who is mentioned in the *Sipand Nask*, the *Šāyest Nē-Šāyest* and the *Ṣaddar Naṯr* as well.

Because of these new objectives, the volume of this thesis grew to be twice that of the initially planned work.

The Method

The process of editing the text body of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* was carried out on the basis of a Critical Edition method. For this, manuscript N, which is the oldest of all the manuscripts, has been chosen as the basic manuscript. Differences between this manuscript and all other variants are listed in footnotes. However, due to the manuscript situation of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, it was not possible to use a strictly critical edition method. Therefore, the editing method is a mixing of the critical and eclectic methods.

The most ancient manuscript is dated to the year 896 A.Y./1527 A.D. Even though the date of the actual translation of the Zoroastrian Persian prose version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is unknown, attempt has been made, by studying the words and also by the literary style of the work, to show that the text was probably written in the fourth or fifth century A.H./tenth or eleventh A.D.

The editing method and the style of the text are explained extensively in chapter five.

The Sources

Two types of sources have been used in the thesis: Manuscript Sources and Printed Sources. To the first group belong those manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* that have been used to edit the text. Manuscripts of other works have been used in other chapters of this thesis. The second type, Printed Sources, include research done around the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* or in area related to the main subject of each chapter of the thesis. The complete list of all sources is found in the bibliography.

II. The background and history of a text

Among the pre-Islamic Iranian-Zoroastrian works, two have enjoyed particuarly good luck: the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*[2] and the *Jāmāsp-Nāma*. The first one is a report of a journey to the Other World and a foretelling of what will happen to the human after death. The other one predicts what the end of the world will be like and what will happen to Iran at that time.

Both books talk about the unseen and what has not happened yet. They talk of a world which no one else had talked about before and about matters which the curious human being constantly wishes to discover and to get to know. Due to this, both these books have a marvellous attraction. On the one hand, the charm of the works and, on the other hand, the recommendation and exhortation by the Zoroastrian priests to study them have caused these works to be read and considered by Zoroastrians both in and outside Iran. Thus, both works have been copied, re-written and translated into other languages of Zoroastrians at all times. This in itself is another reason why these two works have survived for so long.

The main subject of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is the journey of a man called Vīrāf to the Other World. He passes into a state of unconsciousness after using an intoxicating drink and travels to the Other World while he is unconscious. Vīrāf visits some cheerful and fortunate people in orchards and rose-gardens who are enjoying the favour and grace of Paradise. However, he also sees some other people in Hell, who are in pain and suffering and who live in frosty and miserable places, and are either being tormented or persecuted by harmful creatures. The lucky and cheerful people are those who have done good deeds in this world, but the people who are immersed in pain and suffering are those who have been malevolent and evil-doing in the present world. The third group is the people whose virtues and wrongdoings have been equal and they are now in Limbo, where they are neither suffering nor rejoicing. Vīrāf wakes up from his state of unconsciousness after seven days, and then he begins to tell about his journey and asks for a scribe to write the report down.

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[2] The present study is done on the basis of the Zoroastrian Persian version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. There are different forms of the name in different versions of the account, but in all parts of this study Vīrāf, Ardāy-Vīrāf and the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* are used, since these are the forms found in the Zoroastrian Persian version.

There are some main issues in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* that need special attention; the name of Vīrāf, his personality, the time of Vīrāf and the time when the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* was written,[3] Vīrāf's journey report[4] and the subject of it, the various versions of the work, and finally the manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* where illustrations are included. These are the points that have been considered and studied by Iranists in different parts of the world during the last two centuries.

The name of Vīrāf

Fravardīn Yašt is the most ancient text which has mentioned the name of Vīrāf. Here the name has been recorded in the form of Wīrāz (Fravardīn Yašt: XXV.101).[5]

The name has been recorded with the form of [illegible], in the Parsig version (Codex K20 1931: fol. $5^{r.}$).[6]

Taking into consideration that the last letter of the name is applied for the three phonemes 'f', 'p', 'b', and 'c', in the Parsig language, the name can be transcribed as Wīrāf, Wīrāp and Wīrāb. The last letter is also transcribed as 'w' in a few cases.[7] Thus, the name can be transcribed as Wīrāw as well. Probably due to this, the name is found twice with the form of Vīrāv.

The name in the Pazand version is written in the form of [illegible] (Antia 1909: 358)[8], the transcription of which is Ardā Vīrā.[9]

In Sanskrit and Old Gujarati, the name of Ardāy-Vīrāf is transcribed in the form of Ardā-Gvīrā (Bharucha 1920: 1). Haug and West have transcribed the name a little differently, in the translation of the introduction of the Sanskrit version (1872: Lxxvii), namely as Arddā-Gvīrā.[10] That is not surprising at all, since the name does not end in the letter that can be read as 'f', 'p' and 'b' in the Sanskrit and Old Gujarati versions. The reason for this is that both these versions have been translated on the basis of the Pazand version (Bharucha 1920: II).

[3] The time of Vīrāf himself and the probable time of the codification of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* will be discussed in chapter IX.
[4] The main subject of the work, Vīrāf's journey to the other world, is studied in chapters III, VII and VIII.
[5] See also Geldner 1886-1896; Westergaard 1852-54: I.238; Wolff 1924: 244; Lommel 1927: 125.
[6] The first part of the name could be written with the form of [illegible] as well.
[7] The word [illegible] could be given as an example in this case, which will be bpyt' in transliteration and *bawēd* in transcription (Āmūzgār-Tafaẓẓulī 1994: 42).
[8] Haug and West have recorded the name in the form of Ardā Vīrā in the introduction of the Pazand version (1872: Lxxvii).
[9] Thus, neither Mu'īn's transcription of the name as Vīrāf (1946: 5) nor Gignoux's Wīrāz (1984: 8) in the Pazand version can be correct.
[10] Bharucha has transcribed the name Arddā-Gvīrā in his introduction (1920: II), and thus followed Haug and West's transcription.

Apart from the Zoroastrian Persian version, in which the name has been recorded as Vīrāf, it has also been written as Vīrāf in New Persian (Arabic) script in the margin of a Parsig manuscript (Codex K26 1932: fol. 8r.). In addition to this, the name has also been recorded in the form of Vīrāf in *Mēnō ī Xrad* in verse by Dārāb Hurmazdyār Sanjāna (S.P.38: 17b).

The researchers are not in general agreement about the name of Vīrāf. Some have written the name with the form of Vīrāf (Haug-West 1872; Darmesteter 1883: I.75, II.298;[11] Barthélemy: 1887; Jackson 1899: 157; Jamasp Asa 1902; Maddox 1904; Pavry 1927: 53; Modi 1932'a': 107; Blochet 1933: 49; Wikander 1946: 44; de Menasce 1949: 1-6). However, some others have recorded it with the form of Wīrāz (Bartholomae 1904: 1454; Jackson 1928: 139;[12] Christensen 1931: 12; Henning 1951: 51; Molé 1963: 179; Nyberg 1974: II.213; Boyce 1968'a': 48; Gignoux 1984).

It seems that because the form Wīrāz is the one found in the *Avesta*, this form is more accepted at present (Tafaẓẓulī 1997: 167). Anyway, some researchers such as Bartholomae, Nyberg and Boyce have accepted the form Wīrāz, even though they also accept the form Vīrāf as a traditional reading of the name.

There are fewer problems with the first part of the name. The Avestan word of ašẳvan- is *artāvan*- in Old Persian and *ahlaw* or *ardā* in Parsig, which means 'righteous'[13] (Gnoli 1979: 387).[14] The Pazand form of the word is *ašō*. Ardāy is also translated into *ašō* in one of the manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Zoroastrian Persian (MS.L. fol.7a).

The name of Ardāy-Vīrāf has a particular story in the Zoroastrian Persian version. In addition to the title of the book which is mentioned at the beginning in the form of *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*; the name of this personality is given as "Ardāy-Vīrāf" ten times in the text body. All these cases occur when he has already come back from his journey to the Other World. According to all the Zoroastrian Persian manuscripts, when Vīrāf woke up, all the priests and authorities called him "Ardāy-Vīrāf", which means 'the righteous Viraf': «شاد آمدی اردای‌ویراف، و به بازبینی آن باشد که بهشتی اشو باشد» "You are welcome, o Ardāy-Vīrāf, and that means when looking back that he is heavenly righteous" (lines 86-87).[15] The reason for giving this name to Vīrāf at such a time, is just because he has returned from the Other World. This is actually the same name that he was called by Surūš the righteous (first episode), Amšāspandān (the Holy Immortals) (third episode) and Urdībihišt the Holy

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[11] Darmesteter has also suggested the probability of reading the name either Vīrāp or Vīrāb (Darmesteter 1883: I. 298).

[12] Jackson wrote the name Vīrāf in 1899 and Vīrāz in 1928.

[13] However, Ardā does not mean righteous everywhere (Gignoux 1984: 10).

[14] The Pazand form of the name is *ašō*. Ardāy is translated into *ašō* in one of the manuscript of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, manuscript L (MS.L: fol.7a).

[15] The sentence is written as: «شاد آمدی ای اردای‌ویراف، که به معنی بهشتی باشد و اشو» "You are welcome, oh Ardāy-Vīrāf, which means the heavenly and the righteous" in manuscript L, which in some parts is simplified in comparison to the other manuscripts (MS.L: fol.7a).

Immortal (twelfth episode) at the commencement of his journey to the Other World. While giving him the message to take to this world, Ohrmazd (sixtieth episode) also calls him in by this name at the end of his journey. However, the name of this personality is mentioned sixteen times in the form of Vīrāf, all before his departure to the Other World.[16]

Gnoli believes that the term Ardāy points to the post mortem fortunate (Gnoli 1979: 387-388). Gignoux holds that Ardāy has a special meaning in connection with the post mortem world (Gignoux 1979: 41-79; Gignoux 1984: 9). The idea that the "being Ardāy" of Vīrāf has occurred after his ascension to the Other World, is here introduced in the light of the previously presented examples from the Zoroastrian Persian text.[17]

Some of the Zoroastrian Persian and the New Persian sources have seen Ardā or Ardāy as equal to the name of Vīrāf's himself. The *Farhang-i ānandrāj* (Muḥammad Pādšāh 1956: 7.4528), has identified this name as Ardāy, and the *Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may-i ḥalāl va ḥarām ba qā'ida-yi dīn* (1922: I.270), *Farhang-i Rašīdī* (Tattavi 1875:I.44) and the *Burhān-i Qāti'* (Tabrīzī 1983: 1.99)[18] have written the name as Ardā and regarded it as the name of Vīrāf himself.[19] Both forms, Ardā and Ardāy, are found in *Nairang-i būy-dādan*.[20] In praise of Vīrāf, Ardāy is mentioned as part of his name, and later in the sentence ardā meaning 'saint' is used as a separate adjective describing Vīrāf: «ارداىويرافِ اردافروهر ايدر ياد باد!» "May Ardāy-Vīrāf, whose immortal soul is sacred, be kept in good remembrance now!" (Unvālā 1922: I.356).

Six forms of the name Vīrāf are found in the Zoroastrian Persian version: Ardāy-Vīrāf (line 86)[21], Ardā-Vīrāf (line 91), Vīrāf (line 31), Vīrāv (footnote 99), Ardāvīr (MS.N: fol.0b), Ardā (line 118).[22] One of the most remarkable meanings suggested by Kellens for Ardāy-Vīrāf is *vīra-aza- ("qui mène les hommes", i.e. "who leads mankind") a term which is very well-suited to Vīrāf's personality (Kellens 1974 → Mayrhofer 1977: I/95).

Besides in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Zoroastrian Persian, this name has been recorded as Ardāy-Vīrāf in other works as follows: the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in verse by Zartušt Bahrām (Zarātušt Bahrām Pajdū 1964: 21.verse 407), the *Qiṣṣa-yi sanjān* versified by Bahman Kay-Qubād Sanjana (1915:

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[16] The personage is called Vīrāf three times by Ohrmazd and the Holy Immortals in the Other World.

[17] See the studies of Belardi 1979 for more information.

[18] The name has been written Ardā upon the rhythm of fardā in *Burhān-i Qāti'* and then it is added that some called him Ardād, too, upon the rhythm of Farhād, and his father's name was Vīrāf with a *kasra* to mark the Persian vowel sound (Tabrīzī 1983: 1.99).

[19] The Parsis asked in a letter written ca. 1022 A.Y./1654 A.D. to the Iranian Zoroastrian about Jāmāsp's and Vīrāf's fathers' names. The Iranian Zoroastrians replied: "Jāmāsp's father's name was Hubūb, the sage, but Vīrāf's father's name is not known" (Unvālā 1922: II.422). This letter shows to what extent Vīrāf and Jāmāsp are important to Zoroastrians.

[20] *Nairang-i būy-dādan* is a kind of prayer said in a ritual ceremony of aromatizing the fire.

[21] The first occurrence of this form in the text.

[22] The form of Ardā is used only in manuscript L.

4.vv.85-87), the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in verse by Anūšīrvān Kirmānī (Unvālā 1922: II.331-342), the *Nairang-i būy-dādan* (Unvālā 1922: I.356), the *Rāz-i yazdānī* (MS.301: 2b), the *Kaifiyyat-i qissa-yi sulṭān Maḥmūd-i ġaznavī* (Rosenberg 1909: I.30), the *Saugand-Nāma* (Aša 2002'a': 394),[23] the *Jāmāspī* versified narrative (S.P.46: 430b), the *Dabistān-i Mażāhib* (Kay-Khusrau Isfandiyār 1983: 1.94), the *Qiṣṣa-yi zartuštiyān-i Hindūstān va bayān-i ātaš-i bahrām-i Navsārī*, versified by Shapurji Maneckji Sanjana (1930: 14.vv.98-100) and the *Farhang-i Niẓām* (Dā'ī-ul-islām 1927: 1.211).[24]

Still, the name of Vīrāf is known as a boy's name after millennia. This name is being used among the Iranian Zoroastrians in three dialect forms: Vīrāf in Persian, Vīyrāp in the dialect of the Zoroastrians in Kirmān, and Vīrup and Vīruvug[25] (Surūšiyān 1977: 200) in the dialect of the Zoroastrians in Yazd. Apart from the above-mentioned cases, Wirābī is a family name among the Iranian Zoroastrians (Bahār 1996: 329).

Vīrāf's personality

The name of Vīrāf has been mentioned in many Zoroastrian works due to his value and importance. Vīrāf himself, as well as his journey is described in these works. Vīrāf's visit to Paradise is mentioned in the *Farziyāt-Nāma*, and also the importance of him killing the *xrafstar* (noxious creature) (Pāhlan 1924: 33).[26] The *Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may-i ḥalāl va ḥarām ba qā'ida-yi dīn* mentions the three bowls of wine that were drunk by Vīrāf before his journey to the Other World (Unvālā 1922: I.270-271). The *Kaifiyyat-in qissa-yi sulṭān Maḥmūd-i ġaznavī* talks about Vīrāf's ascending to the Other World and about his return and report (Rosenberg 1909: I.30). The *Jāmāspī* (S.P.46: 430b) makes mention of the belief that the world will be purified and renewed by Vīrāf.

In some works, Vīrāf has been mentioned either as a mūbad or the mūbad of the mūbadān. *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* writes that the Parsis tell that there were two mūbads at the time of Ardašīr-i Bābakān: firstly Vīrāf and secondly Mārasfand, but that Vīrāf was superior and the supreme one (MS.ADD24413: 22a). Ardā is known as one of the Magi, and the mūbad of

23 Both the forms Ardāy-Vīrāf (Aša 2002'a': 394) and Vīrāf (ibid: 395) are found in the *Saugand-Nāma*.
24 For more information about Ardā and Vīrāf, see the following studies: Mayrhofer 1977: I/95.371; Gignoux 1986: II/45.118; II/183.1005.
25 It is worth noting that this form of the name is not mentioned any other Iranian source, neither Zoroastrian nor non-Zoroastrian.
26 The *Farziyāt-Nāma* has two sections; the Persian section begins from the right and the page numbers are in Persian, the English section begins from the left and the page numbers are in English. This reference is to the Persian section.

mūbadān in the the *Farhang-i Rašīdī* (Tattavi: I.44). Vīrāf is also known as a mūbad and learned man in the *Farhang-i Ānandrāj* (Muḥammad Pādšāh 1956: 1.206).

Other works have also turned him into a superhuman and an epic personality. Probably for the sake of his journey to the Other World, some works have given him an even higher position than just that of a traveler to the Other World. He is known as a prophet according to the Parsis. *Burhān-i Qāti'* (Tabrīzī 1983: 1.99) and *Farhang-i Ānandrāj* (Muḥammad Pādšāh 1956: 1. 206) testify to this. Also the Zoroastrians in Iran view him as a prophet according to the *Farhang-i Niẓām* (Dā'ī-ul-islām 1927: 1.211). It is quoted in the *Saugand-Nāma* that according to Āzarbād-i Mārasfandān every Zoroastrian should believe without doubt in the good religion of the Mazdayasnān (Mazda-Worshippers) and in Vīrāf's words (*Saugand-Nāma* → Aša 2002'a': 395). The name of Vīrāf is mentioned in the *Nairang-i būydādan* together with the names of the great men of Irānšahr, such as Zarathustra, Guštāsp, Manūčihr, Īraj, Farīdūn, Siyāvaš, Gūdarz, Rustam and Garšāsp, (Unvālā 1922: I.355-358).

The treatise of the *Rāz-i yazdānī*[27] could be one of the most important documents on Vīrāf's personality, because this is the only source that has talked about Vīrāf's life after his journey to the Other World. The author of the treatise, Bahrām Rustam Nirsī-ābādī (Naṣr-ābādī) (dead in 1249 A.Y./1880 AD), wrote that the Iranian Zoroastrians were divided into two groups after the time of Ardašīr (Šahmardān 1984: 387-403). One of those was the followers of Vīrāf, which the author called Ardāy-Vīrāfī, and the others are the Āzarbādī, who were the followers of Āzarbād-i Mārasfandān. The text reads:

> It should not be secret that when the good religion was renewed and circulated due to the justice and struggles by Ardašīr-i Bābakān the righteous king of kings and under the auspicious leadership of God's selected leaders, his holiness Ardāy-Vīrāf and his holiness Āzarbād-i Mārasfand[ān], the people left the aberrance. Thereafter, when these great fellows said farewell to the world [i.e. died], the children of their followers multiplied. The Iranians were divided into two groups; some Ardāy-Vīrāfī and a great crowd of Āzarbādī, even though both these auspicious men did not proclaim anything other than the ritual traditions. Then, the mūbads who recognized themselves as descendants and followers of each of these began to be separated and alienated from each other; so each group wrote a separate introduction to the *Avesta*. Then, after the Arabs' victory over Iran, a group fled to India and the other remained under oppression in Iran. They forgot their religious rituals bit by bit due to the multiple oppression, and mixed up the religion with some other rituals. Those who escaped to India forgot some ancient religious rituals due to associating with the people there and adopted their ways." (MS.301: 2b-3b)

[27] There are three other manuscripts of the *Rāz-i yazdānī* with the title *Sar-nāma-yi Rāz-i Yazdānī* with sub-numbers 221a, 221b, 221c, in Maneckji's collection, in Cama Oriental Institute Library (Ġaravī 1986: 59-60).

The time of Vīrāf

There are various periods for the time of Vīrāf in Zoroastrian works. According to the *Mēnō ī Xrad* in the Zoroastrian Persian version versified by Dārāb Hormuzdyār Sanjāna (S.P.38: 17b), Vīrāf lived before Guštāsp. According to the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Pazand, Sanskrit and the Old Gujarati, Vīrāf was contemporary with Guštāsp. Finally, Vīrāf was contemporary with Ardašīr-i Bābakān according to the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* of the Zoroastrian Persian version, the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* of the Zoroastrian Persian version in verse by Zatušt Bahrām Pajdū, the *Qiṣṣa-yi sanjān*, versified by Bahman Kay-Qubād Sanjana (1915: 4.vv.85-87), the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* of the Zoroastrian Persian in verse by Anūšīrvān Kirmānī, the *Jāmāspī* the Zoroastrian Persian version, versified by Dastūr Burzū, in 16th-17th century A.D. (S.P.46: 430b), the *Kaifiyyat-in qissa-yi sulṭān Maḥmūd-i ġaznavī* (Rosenberg 1909: I.30), the *Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may-i ḥalāl va ḥarām ba qā'ida-yi dīn* (1922: I.270-271), the *Rāz-i yazdānī* (MS.301: 2b-3b), the *Saugand-Nāma* (Aša 2002'a': 394), the *Qiṣṣa-yi zartuštiyān-i hindūstān va bayān-i ātaš-i bahrām-i Navsārī*, versified by Shapurji Maneckji Sanjana (1930: 14.vv.98-100), the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī* (MS.ADD24413: 22a), the *Farhang-i Rašīdī* (1875: I.44), the *Farhang-i Ānandrāj* (Muḥammad Pādšāh 1956: 1.206) and the *Farhang-i Niẓām* (Dā'ī-ul-islām 1927: 1.211).

Most of the researchers who have studied the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, as Tavadia (1956: 117), Widengren (1961: 13), Boyce (1968'a': 48) and Tafaẓẓulī (1991: 733) believe that this work is originally very old. The discussion about the antiquity of this work is further developed in chapter IX.

The Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma versions

The important position of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Zoroastrianism and its value among the Zoroastrians is clearly seen from the numerous versions of Vīrāf's journey report that are recorded in various languages and in different times. It is safe to say that no other pre-Islamic Iranian work has been copied, re-written translated and spread to this extent.

The initial version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* was not a religious document but a pre-Zoroastrian (Indo-Iranian) text.[28] The form and the main subject of this early version was changed into a Zoroastrian-religious form after the death of Zarathustra. The Zoroastrian priests were constantly involved in changing this work ideologically during the centuries. Thus, various versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* have been created. The most significant evidence

[28] Specific epic traits, which are evidence for the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* being originally a non-Zoroastrian account, remain in the Zoroastrian Persian version. These traits will be considered in chapter VIII for a comparison between the Zoroastrian Persian version and the Parsig version, and also in chapter IX.

to prove this opinion is the existence of the Zoroastrian Persian version, where in some parts, some traces of a non-Zoroastrian epical document are still to be found.

The various versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* lead us to believe that the pre-Zoroastrian (Indo-Iranian) form of the text has been transformed firstly into a Zoroastrian form in Pahlavanig (Parthian/Pahlavi), Parsig or some other language. We have no clear evidence for this, however. Then after becoming a Zoroastrian text, it has constantly been more and more "Zoroastrified". Perhaps due to different opinions among the priests various versions of this work and its introductions give a different time for Vīrāf's life and journey.

The introductions and the themes of the Parsig, Pazand and Zoroastrian Persian versions clearly show that these three versions have been written on the basis of three different versions. The most logical explanation is that three Parsig versions have been written on the basis of the first Zoroastrian text which was itself written down on the basis of the initial pre-Zoroastrian (Indo-Iranian) account. One of these three versions is the source of the present Parsig version. The second one is the base of the existing Pazand version. The Zoroastrian Persian version would then be an outcome of the third Parsig version.

- Because of its language, but only for that reason, the Parsig version is the oldest version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. In comparison with the Pazand version and, more important than that, in comparison with the Zoroastrian Persian version the form and the theme confirms that it is not an authentic version, because, it has been retouched constantly to improve the religious aims, even after the Arab invasion of Iran (Gignoux 1984: 17).

  It is notable that none of the versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* have been written on the basis of the Parsig version. This will be demonstrated when comparing the other accounts with the Parsig version.
- The Pazand version gives that Vīrāf was sent to the Other World in the time of Guštāsp according to the date in the introduction of this version. Additionally, the main subject of the text is very different from the Parsig version. This indicates that the origin of the Parsig version which must have been another Parsig version (since all Pazand texts are transcriptions of Parsig texts) was different from the present the Parsig version. One of the oldest manuscripts of the Pazand version is dated 1410 A.D. (Haug-West 1872: x).
- The Sanskrit version; the Sanskrit version is based on the Pazand version (Bharucha 1920: II). The H_{18} manuscript is the oldest manuscript of the Sanskrit version, which contains the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Pazand and Sanskrit in addition to its colophon in Sanskrit. It is dated to the year 1466 Samvat equal to 1410 A.D. (Katrak 1941: 250).

- The Old Gujarati version; the Sanskrit version had been the basis of translating the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* into Old Gujarati (Bharucha 1920: II). The oldest manuscript of the Old Gujarati version is in a miscellany including some works, among them the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Pazand, Sanskrit and Old Gujarati. This miscellany is dated 784 A.Y./1415 A.D. (Katrak 1941: 250).
- The first extant Zoroastrian Persian version in verse; this version consists of 1849 verses and was versified by Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū in the second half of the seventh century A.H./second half of the thirteenths century A.D.[29] The origin of this version must have been the Zoroastrian Persian version in prose. However, the presence of differences between this poem and the present Zoroastrian Persian version in prose could indicate that Zartušt Bahrām's source might have been a old manuscript of the Zoroastrian Persian version which was somewhat different from the present Zoroastrian Persian version in prose (ʻAfīfī 1964: twenty-one).
- The first extant Zoroastrian Persian version in prose; the oldest manuscript of this version is the manuscript that was written for Shapur Āsā in the year 896 A.Y. /1527 A.D. in Iran, and he himself carried it to India in that same year. More explanation will be given about this version in chapter V.[30]
- The second extant Zoroastrian Persian version in verse; in the Paris manuscript, this poem has a little more than 1100 couplets (S.P.46: 365b-381b). The poem was composed by Kāvūs Farīburz Yazdī[31] in the year 902 A.Y./1533 A.D. in Navsari (Hodivala 1920: 303).[32] The poem was composed on the basis of the Zoroastrian Persian prose version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and was carried from Iran to India in the year 896 A.Y. /1527 A.D. Kāvūs Farīburz Yazdī, in his poem, does not mention the versified version by Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū which predates his own version.

[29] According to Dastur Jamaspji Asa's writing, Zartušt Bahrām versified the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in the year 900 A.Y./1530-1531 A.D. (Jamaspji Asa → Haug-West 1872: xix). However Muʻīn has proved on the basis of historical evidence that Zartušt Bahrām lived in the seventh century A.H./the thirteenth A.D. (Muʻīn 1988: 4, 2-7).

[30] Dastur Jamaspji Asa mentions another Zoroastrian Persian version, entitled the *Rivāyat of Rāma Khambāyatī* [true: Kāmā Khambāyatī] which is not very different in theme from the versified version (Jamaspji Asa → Haug-West 1872: xix). This version is just a copy of the version written for Shapur Āsā. The title *Rivayat of Kama Asa Khambayeti* is given to this version on the first page of the microfilm of the Zoroastrian Persian version of Shapur Āsā.

[31] Kāvūs Farīburz Yazdī, a Zoroastrian merchant from Yazd in companion with another Zoroastrian named Afsād went for business from Yazd to Navsari in India. He composed a poem about his and his friend's adventures under the title *Qiṣṣa-yi Kāvūs va Afsād*. According to this poem, Kāvūs assisted the Parsis very much (MS.F.45: fol.1-38). Haug and West mention a work entitled the *Ḥādaṯa-Nāma*, which is the story of Kāvūs and Afšād. This book was translated from Persian into Gujarati and was published in Bombay in 1831. The *Qiṣṣa-yi Kāvūs va Afsād* may be the same as the *Ḥādaṯa-Nāma*.

[32] From the prologue and the epilogue it appears that a Mūbad named Bahrām Pāhlan, chief of the Navsari Anjuman, together with Maneck and Bahman urged Kāvūs Farīburz to turn the story of *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nama* into verse.

• The second extant Zoroastrian Persian version in prose; Kay-Khusrau Isfandiyār son of Āżar Kayvān (dead 1081 A.H./1670 A.D.) turned into prose an abridgement of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in verse of Zartušt Bahrām under the title of «ذکرِ خبردادنِ اردای‌ویراف از بهشت و دوزخ» *Żikr-i xabar-dādan-i Ardāy-Vīrāf az bihišt va dūzax* in his book *Dabistān-i Mażāhib* in 1645 A.D. (Kay-Khusrau Isfandiyār 1983: 1-94-100). The story begins with the phrase "Zartušt Bahrām relates...".[33]

• The third extant Zoroastrian Persian version in verse; this poem is composed of 424 verses and was versified by Anūšīrvān Kirmānī either in the second half of the sixteenth century or the first half of the seventeen century A.D. (Unvālā 1922: II.331-342).[34] Anūšīrvān writes that, since the poem versified by Zartušt Bahrām lacks several chapters, he and two dastūrs (authorities) studied the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* textbook in *ūzvāriš* (*hūzvāriš*), meaning Parsig or may be Pazand, and then he turned into poetry the chapters that were absent in the Zartušt Bahrām's version (Ibid: 342).

The part about the golden-eared dog seen by Vīrāf is among the accounts found in the poem of Anūšīrvān (Ibid: 332). However, the lack of this part in Zartušt Bahrām's poem does not indicate that he missed out any part of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, since he had composed his poems on the basis of the Zoroastrian Persian version in prose (Haug-West 1872: xix) and no such part of the golden-eared dog exists in this version.

It is worth mentioning that the part on the golden-eared dog does not exist in the present Parsig vesion either. That is to say that the Parsig or maybe the Pazand version used by Anūšīrvān was different from the presently available Parsig version.

• The first extant New Gujarati version is a rendering of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in verse, which was composed by the Dastur Rustam Pašūtan Hurmazdyār in 1651 A.D. (Modi 1923: 106-108). This work is based on Zartušt Bahrām's version, Naušīrvān Bahrām's[35] version and the *Ardāy-Vīraf Nāma-yi Kavūsī* (ibid: 108-109). Two manuscript of the work are being preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, both containing miniature paintings.

• The second extant New Gujarati version was translated into New Gujarati on the basis of Zartušt Bahrām poems by an unknown translator in

[33] The existence of two translations in New Gujarati and the *Dabistān-i Mażāhib* in Persian created on the basis of the poem of Zartušt Bahrām shows the popularity and the of Zartušt Bahrām's version.

[34] Anūšīrvān Kirmānī versified his dated works approximately between the years 988-998 A.Y./1619-1629A.D. (Āmūzgār 1969: 185).

[35] It seems that this Naušīrvān is Anaušīrvān Kirmānī, because among those who versified the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* there is no known Naušīrvān/Anaušīrvān except Anaušīrvān Kirmānī. But his full name is Anaušīrvān Marzbān Kirmānī, not Naušīrvān Bahrām.

the early years of the eighteenth century[36] (Jamaspji Asa → Haug-West 1872: xxi).

- The third extant New Gujarati version is another translation from Zartušt Bahrām's poems, first printed by the Jām Jamšid Press in Bombay in the mid-19th century[37] and later reprinted later (ibid).
- The Arabic version. This is the first time that an Arabic translation of this work is introduced. The only known manuscript of this Arabic version is mentioned in a miscellany including the *Kitāb fī qarānāt*, the *Kitāb dalālata zarātušt*, the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and some other works. All these works are written in Arabic but in Syriac characters. This miscellany is preserved in the Monastery of Mar Giwargis in Mosul in Iraq and is one of the manuscripts that have been brought from Alqosh[38] to this monastery.[39]

The illustrated manuscripts of the Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma

A number of manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in various languages have been illustrated with paintings during the centuries. Illustrating the books with paintings was done to ensure that the subject and the theme of the book will leave a stronger impression on readers (Tavadia 1956: 120). Although there are not many illustrated manuscript left in our time, the few existing ones are important enough.

It is not clearly known when manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* began to be illustrated. However, the oldest information about an illustrated manuscript of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is given by Hodivala, Modi and Dhabhar. Hodivala, in his studies in Parsi History, mentions an illustrated *Virāf-Nāma* dated to 928 A.Y./1558 A.D. in a certain collection. Kāmdin Shāpur Khambāiti carried this miscellany from Iran to India (Hodivala 1920: 309-310). Modi, in his introduction on the narratives of *Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat* has mentioned a miscellany containing two *Vīrāf-Nāma*s with pictures,

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[36] Dastur Jamaspji Asa writes that this work was translated 150 years ago. In view of the publishing time of Haug-West's book in 1872, this work must have been translated around 1720.

[37] Dastur Jamaspji Asa writes that this work was translated about 20 years ago. In view of the publishing time of Haug-West's book in 1872 this work must have been translated approximately 1852.

[38] Alqosh/Alqush is one of the famous Assyrian cities in Iraq, about 30 kilometers north of Mosul.

[39] I am indebted to Mr. Zakky Sharīf for information on this version. His only trace of this miscellany that might be helpful for finding it is that the manuscript was brought to Mar Giwargis monastery from Alqosh/Alqush. In the year 2006, my Kurdish fellow-researcher, Nauzād Aḥmad, was after many struggles able to see this manuscript just for a few minutes on his journey to Mosul. Unfortunately, I have not yet succeeded in gaining a microfilm or photography of that miscellany or at least the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* section, in spite of two years of hard work.

which were sent to the Parsis by the Iranian Zoroastrians via Herbed-Zādah Kamdin (Modi 1922: I.12). Dhabhar also mentions a miscellany containing a *Vīrāf-Nāma* illustrated with pictures in *The Persian Rivayats of Hormazyar Framarz* (Dhabhar 1932: 618). All these three miscellanies are the same since all three contain similar works. There is just a single difference between them, Hodivala and Dhabhar mention one *Vīrāf-Nāma* illustrated with pictures, but Modi mentions two *Vīrāf-Nāma*s with pictures. Hodivala writes that is the same manuscript that was used by Pope (ibid: 310, f.54)

The illustrated manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* which are known at present are as follows by date:

- The MS. (?),[40] dated 997 A.Y./1628 A.D. in the Cama Oriental Institute Library, the Zoroastrian Persian version in verse, versified by Zartušt Bahrām, containing 57 illustrated tableaus, maybe illustrated by a "Mahomedan or Hindu artist of the time" (Modi 1931: 3).
- The MS. 149, dated 1044 A.H./1634 A.D, in the Cama Oriental Institute Library, in the Maneckji's Collection containing the *Zarātušt-Nāma*, versified by Kay-Kāvūs son of Kay-Khusrau, and the *Vaṣf-i amšāspandān*. Some parts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* are found at the end of the manuscript. It contains 48 fine tableaus altogether, which have all been washed and destroyed together with some parts of the writings (Ġaravī 1986: 57).
- The MS. Indien 75, dated toward the middle of the 17th century A.D., in Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Gujarati version of Dastur Roustem Asa [correctly: Rustam Pašūtan Hurmazdyār]. This manuscript contains 80 miniatures about Paradise and Hell (Ibid).
- The MS. Indien 76 (Anquetil, Notices, XIV), dated toward the middle of the 17th century A.D., in Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Gujarati version of Dastur Roustem Asa [correctly: Rustam Pašūtan Hurmazdyār]. This manuscript contains 105 miniatures (Ibid).[41]
- The MS. 132, dated 1128 A.Y./1759 A.D., in the Cama Oriental Institute Library, the Gujarati version in verse, versified by Rustam Pašūtan Hurmazdyār which has two illustrations and blank spaces for further illustrations (Dhabhar 1923'b': 166).

[40] Modi has not given the number of this manuscript.

[41] Inostrantsev studied the miniatures of these two manuscripts in an article. He believes that the subject matter of some of the illustrations is in agreement with the Parsis' ritual ceremonies (Inostrantsev 1922: 71-74). Modi, in a long critical article on Inostrantsev, holds that these manuscripts were not narrated by Roustem Asa since, there was no living Dastur called Roustem Asa at that time. He finds that to attribute the narrative to Roustem Asa was a mistake by Anquetil Du Perron which was repeated by Blochet and Inostrantsev later on. The versions belong to Rustam Pašūtan Hurmazdyār. Additionally, Modi believes that the viewpoint of Inostrantsev about the Parsis' ritual ceremonies in connection with the illustrations of both 75 and 76 manuscripts is not true, for which he presents some evidence (Modi 1923: 101-102).

- The MS. 131, dated 1217 A.Y./1848 A.D., in the Cama Oriental Institute Library, the Gujarati version in verse versified by Rustam Pašūtan Hurmazdyār. This manuscript contains some very good pictures (Dhabhar 1923'b': 165).
- The MS. 115 (678), sans date, in the Mullā Fīrūz Library, Bombay, the Zoroastrian Persian version in verse, versified by Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū, which contains some illustrations (Dhabhar 1923'a': 78).
- The MS. (?), dated (?),[42] in Kitābxāna-yi anjuman-i zartuštiyān-i Tihrān (The Library of the Society of Zoroastrian in Teheran), the Zoroastrian Persian version in verse, versified by Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū. The title of this manuscript is *Dīnkard-Nāma*, and it contains some pictures about Paradise and Hell. Altogether 48 tableaus are printed as stereotypes (cliché) in yellow and black colors, at the end of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, versified by Zartušt Bahrām, edited by Rahīm 'Afīfī (Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū 1964: 167-182).

Most illustrations in both manuscripts no. 75 and 76 are so similar that it seems that each one is copied from the other. But, the illustrations in manuscript 76 are artistically better.

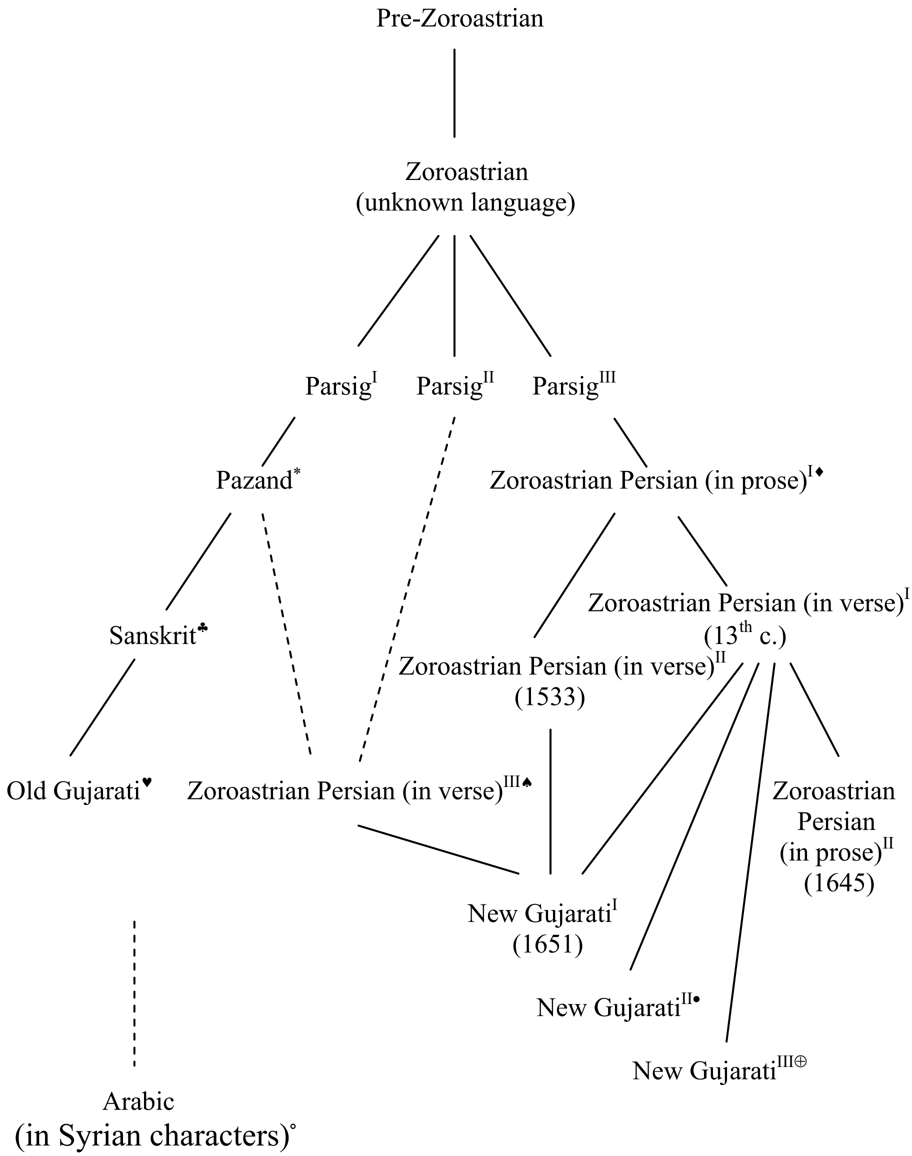
Among the miniatures both in manuscripts no. 75 and 76, six tableaus are printed in the *L'Iran ancient* (Molé 1965: 28, 55, 83, 109, 110, 111), and three tableaus in the *Zarathushtra et la Tradition Mazdéenne* (Varenne 1966: 90, 122, 138).

Some of the illustrations in manuscripts no. 75 and 76 contain scenes, of which there are no indications in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. For example, in one scene, two horsemen are fighting with their maces (MS.75: 7b; MS.76: 8a). In another tableau a four-horse-chariot is carrying the moon (MS.75: 47b), and in a third one, a four-horse-chariot is carrying the sun (MS.75: 49a). None of these scenes are mentioned either in the Zoroastrian Persian versions or in the Parsig versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. These scenes are, very likely, a part of transformations that have been done in the New Gujarati version.

As indicated in the title of Pope's translation of the Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma: The Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma or the Revelation of Ardāy-Vīrāf, translated from the Persian and Gujarati Versions, with notes and illustrations (1816), this book must have been illustrated. Hodivala also declares that Kāmdin Shāpur Khambāiti's manuscript was used by Pope (Hodivala 1920: 310, f.54).[43]

[42] The scribe of this manuscript is not known, since both the first and the last folio of the book are torn away ('Afīfī 1964: three). However, Riẓāzāda Malik wrote that *Dīnkard-Nāma* is a lithographic printed book. This miscellany is preserved in two sections in Ardašīr Yigānagī Library, and its microfilm by the number 1103 is present in Kitābxāna-yi markazī-yi dānišgāh-i Tihrān 'Tehran University Central Library' (Riẓāzāda Malik 1983: 2.168, 334).
[43] None of the two copies of Pope's book which were available to me are illustrated.

Conspectus of versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*



[*] One of the oldest manuscripts of the Pazand version is dated 1410 A.D.
[♦] The oldest manuscript of this version is manuscript N (T.30) dated 1527 A.D.
[♣] The oldest manuscript of the Sanskrit version is dated 1410 A.D.
[♥] The oldest manuscript of the Old Gujarati version is dated 1415 A.D.
[♠] The poet of this version lived in the 15^{th}-16^{th} centuries.
[•] This version has been translated in the early years of the 18^{th} century.
[⊕] This version was first printed in Bombay in the mid-19^{th} century.
[°] It is unknown when and from which version the Arabic version was translated.

III. The Other World in Other Iranian works

Since the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* will be under consideration in other sections of this thesis, only the other Iranian texts dealing with journeys to The Other World and their themes will be treated here. However, because of the importance of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in comparison to the other Iranian works in presenting the picture of the Other World, and because the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is the main subject of the present thesis, the theme of several texts mentioned here will be compared with *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*.

There are, in the Iranian culture as well as in many other cultures worldwide, literary accounts of journeying to the Other World in order to conceptualize beliefs of what will happen to the human being after death.

Ardāy-Vīrāf's travel account is the most famous remaining account of journeying to the Other World in the Iranian cultural realm. This work is the subject of the present study. However, in addition to the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, there are also other works on the concept of the Other World in Iranian literature. For this study, it is necessary to penetrate also other written accounts about the Other World in some detail, something which will reveal more about the Iranian world view in general and Iranian concepts of the Other World in particular. As much as possible, the texts will be allowed to speak for themselves. Therefore, this chapter will comprise a substantial part of the whole work.

Belief in the existence of the Other World is strong in Iranian culture since very ancient times.[44] According to such a belief, to journey to the Other World is known as a possible and acceptable matter. The Iranian magi's journey to the Other World has been well known and accepted as a fact also among other nations in ancient times. Due to this belief, when Lucian, the Greek writer from Samosata (c.120- c.190), was to write about the Other World, he inquired from the magi to profit from their knowledge of journeying to the Other World:

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[44] The presentation of Iranian belief in the other world makes it essential to refer especially to descriptions and journeys to the Other World in an Iranian Cultural framework. For this reason, I avoid mentioning and making comparisons with texts of other cultures and languages related to the other world, as *Fís Adamnáin* in Irland (written about 1100), *Draumkvedet* in Norway (probably written in 1537) and *Divina Commedia* by Dante Alighieri in Italy (written 1307-1321).

So one time, while I lay awake over these problems, I resolved to go to Babylon and address myself to one of the Magi, the disciples and successors of Zoroaster, as I had heard that with certain charms and ceremonials they could open the gates of Hades (Hell), taking down in safety anyone they would and guiding him back again (Lucian 1925: Menippus 6).

Therefore, Ardāy-Vīrāf, too, is sent to the Other World. The old origin of the belief that the magi can journey to the Other World are to be found in different stories about the existence of such a world repeated numerous times in the Iranian literature. This kind of narration is shaped either in the form of journey reports from or descriptions of the Other World. Accounts of this kind are found in the *Avesta* and Parsig (=Middle Persian)[45] texts. Thus, there is no comprehensive account of the Zoroastrian religion without these narrations (Zaehner 1961: 302). The purpose of the journeys to the Other World and the description that follows in these narrations can sometimes be to awaken other believers (Ardāy-Vīrāf journey) and sometimes to affect a special person (Wištāsp/Guštāsp's journey).[46]

Narrations with the purpose of depicting the Other World can be classified in five groups. Three groups are written in Iranian languages (Avestan, Parsig and Zoroastrian Persian), the fourth group, which includes two texts - one incomplete and one complete is in Greek, and the fifth group is engraved as a pictorial report on stone, thus is not a written text.

I Avestan texts:

I.I Hādōxt Nask

I.II Sipand Nask as quoted in Šāyest Nē-Šāyest

I.III Wištāsp Yašt

I.IV Widēwdād

[45] Parsig (Pārsīg) will be used to designate the variety of Middle Iranian that was the prestigious and written language of the Sasanid period. The indigenous name of this language is found in *Rivāyat ī Ēmēt ī Ašawahištān*, which itself is in Parsig: *hāθra wāz-ē ī abestāīg pad ēwāz ī pārsīg frasang xwānēnd* "Hāthra is an Avestan word which is read frasang in Parsig" (REA 1980: XIII.5; see also Lazard 1995'b': 57).
Against Parsig stands Pahlavānīg (> Pahlavānī and further > Pahlavī) as the language of the Parthians. The indigenous name of this language is found in the Parthian text M 2 (= text h in Boyce 1975: 40): *ka frēstagrōšn andar holwān šahristān būd, xwand ō mār *ammō hammōzǎ̊g, kē pahlawānīg dibīrī ud izwān dānīst…* "When the Prophet of Light was in the town of Holvān, he called for Mār Ammō, the teacher, who knew reading and writing in Pahlavānīg" (see also Lazard 1995'b': 52).
Despite the historical background to the use of the designation Pahlavi for Middle Persian, I find it misleading and recommend that Parsig be used in its place.
[46] Wištāsp, an Avestan and Parsig form, is an Iranian king contemporary to Zarathustra. This name is Guštāsp in New Persian and Zoroastrian Persian. In this study, the form Wištāsp has been used, as a general rule, except in the texts where the form Guštāsp has been used, where this work also uses Guštāsp. This name is Wištāsp in *Pahlavi Rivāyat*, *Dēnkard* and *Wizīrgard ī Dēnīg* texts, but in *Zarātušt-Nāma*, *Ṣaddar Bundahiš*, *Minū-xirad* [versified], *Qiṣṣa-yi dastūr…*, *Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may…* and *Khulāṣa-yi Dīn* it is Guštāsp.

II Parsig (Midddle Persian) texts:
- II.I Zand ī Wahman Yasn
- II.II Dādestān ī Mēnō ī Xrad
- II.III Dādestān ī Dēnīg
- II.IV Bundahišn
- II.V Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram
- II.VI Pahlavi Rivāyat
- II.VII Kerdīr's inscription [Sar Mašhad inscription]
- II.VIII Kerdīr's inscription [Naqš-i Rustam inscription]
- II.IX Aogmədaēčā
- II.X Dēnkard
- II.XI Wizīrgard ī Dēnīg

III Zoroastrian Persian texts:
- III.I Zarātušt-Nāma
- III.II Ṣaddar Bundahiš
- III.III Ṣaddar Naṯr
- III.IV [Pādšāhī-yi Jamšīd]
- III.V Mīnū-xirad [versified]
- III.VI Qiṣṣa-yi dastūr…
- III.VII Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may…
- III.VIII Khulāṣa-yi Dīn
- III.IX Khulāṣa-yi Dīn [versified]

IV Greek texts
- IV.I Peri physeōs
- IV.II Politeia

V.Pictorial report:
- V.I Wirkak's tomb relief

Although the language division of the first three groups is chronologically based (Avestan, Parsig and Zoroastrian Persian), it is not certain that they have been written down in that historical chronological order, i.e. that the Parsig texts have been written after the Avestan texts and the Zoroastrian Persian texts after the Parsig texts. For example, it has been argued that one of the Parsig texts, *Wizīrgard ī Dēnīg*, may have been written as late as in the eighteenth or even the nineteenth century (Cereti 1995'a': 142) whereas *Zarātušt-Nāma,* a Zoroastrian Persian text, was written in tenth century (Rempis 1963: 340-341).

Descriptions of the Other World in the texts belonging to the first three groups can be classified into two main approaches as follows:

(A) The Other World in abstract description narration

(B) The Other World in travellers' reports

In the (A) texts, the main subject of each one is the description and explanation of the Other World, including the situation of the dead souls. There is a main difference between journeys and description, i.e. the descriptions give a concise account of the Other World whereas the journey reports give a livelier picture of how the narrator conceptualizes that world.

Although, it is impossible to classify the texts of the first three groups, which comprise altogether six travel reports, according to the time when they have been written, they can be classified according to their chronological appearance in the legendary history of these journeys.

These six journeys are as follows:

- Jamšīd's journey
- Zarathustra's journey
- Wištāsp's journey
- Kerdīr's journey
- Journey of Zoroaster/Er the Pamphylian
- Wirkak's journey

The travel reports in the three first of the above-mentioned groups describe four journeys. Among these, only one of them, the report of Jamšīd's journey, is pre-Zoroastrian, and the other three journeys are all related to the Zoroastrian period. Perhaps due to the importance of these texts in the Zoroastrian religion, the travel reports are found in several accounts, and in one of the journeys (that of Wištāsp) as many as four (in nine different works) occur.

The fifth journey has been recorded in two reports and both of them are in Greek. But the names of the travellers are different in these two reports. The traveller's name is "Zoroaster the Pamphylian" in the first report but "Er the Pamphylian" in the second.

The last journey, or the sixth, like the first journey has only been recorded in one report. But this one is completely different from the others, because it has been inscribed pictorially on stone in a relief.

These journeys are reported to have been done in two ways and can thus be classified in two groups:

1. Profiting from a medium for the journey
2. Not profiting from a medium for the journey

Here a medium refers to a means that helps the main personality of the text to change into a mentally and/or physically different state which means

that he is able to see the Other World. Thus, Zarathustra and Wištāsp[47] profit from a medium to make their journeys, but, Jamšīd, Kerdīr and Zoroaster/Er the Pamphylian do not profit from any medium.

The Other World

A: Abstract descriptive narrations

Abstract descriptive narrations (i.e. group A), divided into the three languages Avestan, Parsig and Zoroastrian Persian, include the following texts:

> Avestan: *Hādōxt Nask* (*HN* 1872: II-III), *Wištāsp Yašt* (*Wyt* 1852-54: VIII.53-64),[48] *Widēwdād* (*Wd* 1907: XIX: 27-32)
>
> Parsig: *Dādestān ī Mēnō ī Xrad* (*MX* 1985: I.110-194), *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (*Dd* 1998: XX.1-8; XXIII.5-6; XXX.2, 13), *Bundahišn* (*IraBd* 1956: XXX: 1-34), *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram* (*WZad* 1993: XXX.52-61; XXXI.2-5), *Pahlavi Rivāyat* (*PRDd* 1990: XXIII.1-36), *Aogmədaēčā* (*Aog* 1982: 8-20)
>
> Zoroastrian Persian: *Ṣaddar Bundahiš* (*ṢDB* 1909: XCIX.1-23).

The presentation of the Other World in these texts gives an abstract picture, where only the precepts of religion are narrated objectively. On the basis of religion, it is the person's good deeds that are rewarded in the Other World and his evil deeds that deserve a severe punishment. There is no vivid description of how these rewards and punishments are meant to take place. In fact these are just abstract pictures of the Other World with the purpose of reminding the believers of the religious precepts, so that they will avoid evil deeds and just do good deeds in this world.

Some similarities between the contents of the group A texts and the reports of journeys to the Other World in the texts of group B indicate that these two groups of texts have similar origins and that they have later adopted different approaches through the passing of time. There are two descriptions in these groups that, besides *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, make Zoroastrian beliefs known in the shape of mythical pictures of the conception of the Other World and varieties of it through as long a time as about three thousand years.

These abstract descriptions are brief, or more or less detailed, but they are, on the whole, similar to each other. Thus, in order to avoid repetition, only one of the texts of group A, *Hādōxt Nask*, will be described here. It is probably the oldest text of this group.

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[47] In some of the accounts, however (*Ṣaddar Bundahiš* and in *Khulāṣa-yi Dīn*), there is no mention of any medium.

[48] *Wištāsp Yašt* has also been mentioned in *Zand-i Khūrtak Avistāk* (*ZKA* 1927: 212-213).

Hādōxt Nask

In the old section of the *Avesta*, the *Gāθā*s, there are no pictures given of the Other World. But in the three Nasks (Books) of the Younger *Avesta* there are three descriptions of the Other World: *Hādōxt Nask*, *Wištāsp Yašt* and *Widēwdād*.

Hādōxt Nask is the twentieth Nask of the Sasanian *Avesta* (Geldner 1896-1904: 17-20). What is remaining of this Nask is three chapters, where the second and third chapters are correlated and describe the Other World. Among the three Avestan texts that describe the Other World, *Hādōxt Nask* is the most complete and most detailed.

A description of what happens to the pious soul in the Other World is narrated in the second chapter of *Hādōxt Nask*. In this text, Ohrmazd informs Zarathustra that the pious soul sits joyfully above its dead body and sings cheerful chants for the first three nights. Then, at the end of the third night, the soul scents the most sweet-smelling fragrance in the world. Afterwards his *daēnā* (conscience/religion) becomes apparent to him as a beautiful girl and tells him: "I am you, yourself, I am the reflection of your good thoughts, good words and good deeds". So the pious soul is led by his *daēnā* in four steps to the "Boundless Place". There the other pious souls, who have died before, ask him how he died and came to that place. But Ohrmazd orders them not to ask him any questions since he has come on a dangerous path. Then Ohrmazd gives the order that he should be given the most delicious food, which is called 'Oil of the Spring'. This is the dead person's meal of good thoughts, good words and good deeds.

The third chapter explains the destiny of the sinful soul going to the Other World.[49] Here, the sinful soul, reciting a hymn of sadness and pains, sits crying above the dead body. At the end of the third night the soul feels that it is passing through snow and fetid water. Then he smells the worst odor in the world. Afterwards, his *daēnā* becomes apparent to him as an ugly old being (*gannāg mēnōg*, Avestan *aŋrō.mainyav-*, i.e. the Evil Spirit) and says to him: "I am the result of your evil thoughts, deeds and words". Then the sinful soul is led by his *daēnā* in four steps to deep darkness, and there the previously dead sinful souls ask him how he died and came to this place. But *gannāg mēnōg* frightens them into not asking him such questions, because he has come down a very dangerous path. Then she orders poison and stench to be brought forth, because this is the meal of malevolent, misbehaving and abusive persons after death[50] (*HN* 1872: II-III).

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[49] Because of the similarity between the second chapter and the third one, many of the subject matters and paragraphs of the third chapter have by mistake been eliminated the copyist. Although it is similar to the second chapter the main subject of the third chapter is what happens to the sinful soul in Other World.

[50] Both pious and sinful souls are men in both chapters. But in connection with the food in the Other World, in second chapter Oil of the Spring is to be given to "youth of good thoughts"

General characteristics of abstract descriptive narrations

General characteristics common for texts of group A are:

- The bewilderment of both the virtuous soul and the sinful soul on the first three days after death.
- All souls, virtuous and sinful, see their *daēnā*[51] as a pretty or ugly woman and they conceptualize those bodies as the sum of their deeds in the present world.
- Pious souls will arrive in a place of boundless light and will be fed heavenly meals, but sinful souls will go to the dark Hell and will be fed hellish meals. This will continue until the Day of Resurrection.
- The names of some of the *Amšāspandān* (Immortals), such as 'Srōš', 'Wahman', 'Wāy ī weh',[52] 'Mihr' and 'Rašn', are mentioned in these texts, which are also the names of some of the *Dēwān* (demons) like 'Wizarš-dēw', 'Astwihād-dēw', 'Frazišt-dēw' and 'Nizīšt-dēw' (*MX* 1985: I.115-118). There are also accounts of their functions.
- Among these texts, three have a unique feature that cannot be seen in other texts. They are *Widēwdād*, *Bundahišn* and *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram*.
- According to *Widēwdād*, in the Other World the spirit is confronted by two dogs which are guardians of the *Čīnwad puhl* (Chinvad Bridge) (*Wd* 1907: XIII.9). In *Bundahišn* mention is also made of a dog standing on the Chinvad Bridge; but there it is only one dog (*IraBd* 1956: XXX.3).[53]
- According to *Bundahišn*, the pious soul sees a fat cow and a cultivated fertile garden on the road to the Other World and gets their help to pass the Chinvad Bridge. But a thin skinny cow and an abandoned dried garden appear to the sinful soul (*IraBd* 1956: XXX.12-19). In *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram*, there are white cows and bulls that help the virtuous soul to reach heaven (*WZad* 1993: XXX.52).

(*HN* 1872: II.38) and to "women of good thoughts" (*HN* 1872: II.39). And in the third chapter poison and stench are mentioned as food for "malevolent youth" (*HN* 1872: III.38) and "malevolent women" (*HN* 1872: III.39).

[51] *daēnā*, a Avestan word (Parsig: *dēn*), means conscience. But in New Persian, the meaning of the word *dīn* has changed from *conscience* to *religion*.

[52] Wāy (Zoroastrian Persian: vāy), is the goddess of wind in Iranian mythology in two different characters: 'Wāy ī weh' (a deity) and 'Wāy ī wattar' (a demon).

[53] This dog is known as the *Sag-i zarrīn-gūš* (the dog with the golden ears) in Zoroastrian literature. In the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in the versified version by Dastūr Naušīrvān Marzbān Kirmānī, when Ardāy-Vīrāf reaches the Chinvad Bridge he is very afraid of seeing this dog. This dog in Dastūr Naūšīrvān's narration has not only golden ears and a collar chain but is also the guardian of the Chinvad Bridge gate (MS.S.P.46: 297a). Anyway, the presence of two dogs seems to be more original, because two guardian dogs also help 'Yima', the goddess of the World of the Dead in Veda (*Rig Veda* 1994: X.10-14).

- In *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram*, four occupations apply in the Other World.[54] There are twelve *mēnōg* (heavenly spirits), who arrange a heavenly life for pious souls (*WZad* 1993: XXX.52-61).

In short, the abstract descriptive texts of the Other World are of a general character and they do not in any way depict that world. In fact, these abstract texts only present the way to reach the Other World.

B: Travellers' reports

The travellers' reports (group B), divided according to the three languages Avestan, Parsig and Zoroastrian Persian, include the following texts:

> Avestan: Sipand Nask as quoted in Šāyest Nē-Šāyest
>
> Parsig: *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, *Pahlavi Rivāyat*,[55] *Kerdīr's inscription* [Sar Mašhad inscription], *Kerdīr's inscription* [Naqš-i Rustam inscription], *Dēnkard*, *Wizīrgard ī Dēnīg*
>
> Zoroastrian Persian: *Zarātušt-Nāma*, *Ṣaddar Bundahiš*,[56] *Ṣaddar Naṯr*, [Pādšāhī-yi Jamšīd], *Minū-xirad* [versified], *Qiṣṣa-yi dastūr…*,[57] *Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may…*,[58] *Khulāṣa-yi Dīn and Khulāṣa-yi Dīn* [versified], *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* [59]

To acquire information of conditions in the Other World, in addition to abstract descriptions, travellers' reports have been created over and over again in order to present as lively pictures of the Other World as possible. In order to leave the most effective and trustworthy impression on readers of these reports, they are always ascribed to men of good thoughts, good words and good deeds, i.e. the righteous.

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[54] These four occupations are in accordance with the four Iran social classes in Sassanid period, that is teaching of theology (*āsravanīh*), keeping of the army (*artēštārīh*), farming (*vāstaryōšīh*) and trade (*pēšag*).

[55] *Pahlavi Rivāyat* gives a description of the world in its 23rd chapter, and in its 47th chapter it presents an account of the journey of Wištāsp.

[56] *Ṣaddar Bundahiš* is proceeded to the Wištāsp journey account in 4th chapter, and in 99th chapter describes the universe subjectively.

[57] The complete title of this narration is: *Qiṣṣa-yi dastūr bā yakī az dānišmand musalmānān bābat-i yazdān va ahrīman* (The Tale of Dastūr with one of the Muslim Scholars about Yazdān (God) and Ahrīman (Devil)).

[58] The complete title of this narration is: *Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may-i ḥalāl va ḥarām ba qā'ida-yi dīn* ("Anecdote about Drinking Religiously Permissible Wine or Prohibited Wine, according to religion").

[59] Naturally, the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is also one of the Iranian works that belong to group B according to the division made in this work. However, because the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* will be the subject of a separate chapter in the present treatise, it will not be dealt with in this chapter.

There is more than one account of these journeys. In order to avoid unnecessary repetition in this chapter, a presentation of all texts about the same journey has been avoided. Only one account of the journey, the one which is relatively more complete than the others, has been chosen as a sample. The criterion for this choice is neither language style nor shortness or length of the account, but the intention was to choose the most comprehensive and complete description of the journey. However, for three journeys it was necessary to refer to more than one account in order to include all details. The first one is the journey of Jamšīd, the second one is the journey of Zarathustra, where two accounts have been used for each journey. The third journey is that of Wištāsp, where three accounts have been analysed.

Jamšīd's journey

According to the narrations, Jamšīd journeyed to the Other World three times. Two of his three journeys, included in the narration of Jamšīd, are related to each other, although they are described as having taken place far apart. But the goal, form and motif of the third journey are different and have been cited in another narration of Jamšīd's life.

[The Reign of Jamšīd[60]]

The original text of this myth in an unknown language has not remained. The only transcript is the version that has been versified by Dastūr Naušīravan Kirmānī between the years 1620-1630 (Rosenberg 1909: 12).

The narration begins when Jamšīd becomes king and governs all "Birds, demons and fairies". Then the *Amšāspand*[61] *Surūš*, by order from Ohrmazd, comes down and inspires him to wear *Sidra*[62] and *Kustī*,[63] so that the *Dīv* (demon) and *Šaytān* (Evil) will be frightened. Jamšīd and his people of all classes do as Ohrmazd has ordered. Afterwards the demons will be destroyed and Jamšīd will govern all justly and fairly.

After these events, the *Amšāspand Bahman* takes him and leads him to heaven, to the presence of Ohrmazd. Ohrmazd asks Jamšīd to accept the

[60] This narrative has no title in the manuscripts MS.S.P.38 and MS.S.P.46 at Bibliohèque Nationale in Paris. A copy of it, edited by Spiegel, has a very long title: "Ba padšāhī-nišastan-i Jamšīd va sāxtan-i ḥikmat-hā-yi har bāb va qufl-kardan-i ū bar dūzax va āškār-kardan-i rasm-i sidrah va kustī va naurūz va farīfta-šudan az guftār-i dīvān, va padšāhī-yi ū haft-ṣad sāl būd" (Jamšīd becoming king and his establishing of every kind of wisdom and padlocking Hell's gate and making apparent the tradition of *Sidra, Kustī* and *Naurūz* and being deceived by the words of demons, and his reign was seven hundred years)" (Spiegel 1860: 327). This narrative has been edited by Aša but his copy has no title either (Aša 1995: 293-303).

[61] Amšāspand (Parsig: Amahraspand, Amešospand) means Holy Immortal.

[62] Parsig: *šabīg*, an under-shirt for Mazdean's ritual.

[63] Or *kuštīg*, Parsig: *kustīg*, a sacred girdle.

Dīn-i Bihī[64] (Supreme Religion) so that the demons will be destroyed. But Jamšīd wishes to be king of the entire world, and Ohrmazd accepts this. On the day when Jamšīd comes back from heaven to the Alburz mountains, people see two suns in the sky. One sun is shining in the sky, but the other sun is coming down to the ground, and this second sun is Jamšīd.

After his descent, Jamšīd begins making garments, swords, helmets, daggers, different kinds of armour and maces. Then he classifies people into four groups, and from the demons he learns to construct houses, and afterwards he learns to build ships, and gets knowledge of jewellery, perfumery and pharmacy. So Ohrmazd inspires him to ascend to the Other World again. Jamšīd goes to the Chinvad Bridge at *Rūz-i Xurdād, māh-i Farvardīn* (Xurdād day of Farvardīn Month),[65] and there he padlocks the gates of Hell so firmly that afterwards no one will die during his reign.[66]

In spite of all that, Jamšīd feels proud and selfish, so that finally, he claims to be the creator of the world. So he loses his *Farra-yi īzadī*[67] (Divine Splendour), and because of this, *Ẓaḥḥāk-mār* attacks Iran and overcomes him. Thus Jamšīd has to leave power, and he runs away to the mountains not to be killed. He then wanders around there the rest of his life (MS.S.P.38: 116-120).[68]

Jam's journey to Hell

According to *Dēnkard*, Jam[69] takes a long journey to the Other World at the beginning of his reign. Before Jam's reign, because the *āsn xrad* (essential wisdom)[70] had been stolen by the demons, the kings became weaker and weaker, and as a result *āz-dēw* (demon of greed) overcame the people, who lived like wild beasts.

Dādār (God) wishes Jam to become king. At first he reconquers the kingdom from the demons, then Dādār's *Farra* assists him to go to Hell. Jam spent thirteen winters (thirteen years) there, in the presence of the demons. There he learned how to defend his people against demons and how to defeat the demons. He learned all about their secrets, and then he came back to the world and succeeded in liberating his people. So he spread essential wisdom

64 *Dīn-i bih*, *Dīn-i vih*, *Dīn-i bihī* are known as mazdayasn or Zoroastrianism

65 Xurdād day of Farvardīn month is the sixth day of Farvardin, i.e. the first month of the Iranian calendar. The sixth day of Farvardin was called, "Naurūz-i buzurg" (= the great new year's day) in Iranian tradition. This is equal to 25 or 26 of March.

66 The place of the *Ahrīman* (Evil principal) is hell and one of his main act is death. When Jamšīd padlocks the gates of hell, his aim is not to prevent the dead going to hell. He intends to imprison Ahrīman in his place, so he blocks the way to one of the greatest evil acts and to dying as well.

67 *Farrah* (Av.: *xwarénah*; Parsig: *xwarrah*); *Farrah-yi īzadī* is Divine Splendour or Divine Glory.

68 See also MS.S.P.46: 131-133; Spiegel 1860: 327-332.

69 In *Avesta* and Sanskrit texts his name is *Yima*, in Parsig texts, i.e. *Dēnkard*, he is called *Jam*, and in Zoroastrian and New Persian texts *Jamšīd*.

70 *āsn xrad* (essential wisdom) is equal to *gōšān xrad* (acquired wisdom).

among people, and as a result of this all of Ohrmazd's creation became immortal (*DkM* 1911: I.295 (20)-297 (5))

Special features of Jamšīd's journey

The oldest myth about journeying to the Other World in Iran is Jamšīd's journey. One of the similarities between this myth and the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is that it is Surūš who comes to Jamšīd initially. Surūš is also the first Amahraspand (Immortal) who sees *Ardāy-Vīrāf* in the Other World. After Surūš it is Wahman Amahraspand who leads Jamšīd to heaven, into Ohrmazd's presence. It is only Wahman who is capable of doing this (*IraBd* 1956: XXVI.12). According to the *Ardāy-Wīrāz Nāmag* it is Wahman who leads *Ardāy-Vīrāf* into Ohrmazd's presence (*AWN* 1984: XI.1-3). However, according to the Parsig version of the *Ardāy-Wīrāz Nāmag*, *Ādur yazd* (the God of fire) prepares the Chinvad Bridge for souls to pass (*AWN* 1984: V.1-2). But in Jamšīd's journey, like in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Zoroastrian Persian, *Ādur yazd* plays no role.

Paradise and Hell are the two important places in the Other World according to Jamšīd's journey and the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. However, there is a big difference between the travellers of these two journeys. Ardāy-Vīrāf is frightened of seeing Hell and asks his two fellow travellers not to take him there (*AWN* 1984: LIII). Contrary to him, Jamšīd himself goes to Hell and padlocks its gate. Compared to the other travellers to the Other World, Jamšīd is the only one who journeys there twice, and this is apart from his journey to Hell to release the *āsn xrad* (essential wisdom). The narration of Jamšīd's journey is much more lively and strong in imagination, both in its contents and form, than the other journeys to the Other World that will be described below.

Zarathustra's journey

Zarathustra's journey is mentioned in *Sipand Nask* as quoted in *Šāyest Nē-Šāyest* and *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* in Parsig and in *Ṣaddar Bundahiš*, *Ṣaddar Naṯr*, *Zarātušt-Nāma* and *Khulāṣa-yi Dīn* [versified] in Zoroastrian Persian.

Sipand Nask as quoted in Šāyest Nē-Šāyest

Sipand Nask is the thirteenth Nask of the Sasanian *Avesta*. It is, however, lost but some chapters and sections are cited in other works like *Šāyest Nē-Šāyest* and are therefore still available. The narration in *Sipand Nask* is also found in a slightly different version in *Ṣaddar Naṯr* in Zoroastrian Persian (*ṢDN* 1909: IV.3-11).

While journeying to the Other World, Zarathustra sees a man in a state in which all of his body except one of his legs is in Hell. Zarathustra asks about his situation. He gets the reply that this man, who is called Davānūs, has been the king of thirty–three countries. He has never done a good deed in his life, except once, when he saw some fodder far from a fastened sheep. He pushed the fodder nearer so that the sheep could eat it. Now, that one leg remains outside Hell as a reward for just that single good deed (*ŠnŠ* 1969: XII.29).[71]

Zand ī Wahman Yasn

Zarathustra asks Ohrmazd to make him immortal. That is impossible, replies Ohrmazd. It is difficult for Zarathustra to understand why. Since Ohrmazd is aware of his thoughts, he gives him the *wisdom of all knowledge* in the form of water and orders him to drink it.[72] Zarathustra drinks the water and then the *wisdom of all knowledge* captures all his existence. Seven days pass in this manner and Zarathustra finds himself in the wisdom of Ohrmazd. After seven days Ohrmazd takes back the *wisdom of all knowledge*.

Zarathustra thinks it has been a dream of delight. Ohrmazd asks him what his dream was about. He has seen that the soul of a rich man who was ignominious in the world is now in Hell. Zarathustra confesses that he is filled with hate for him. In addition to this, he has seen a poor mendicant whose soul is in Paradise and with whom he is pleased (*ZWY* 1995: III.6).[73]

Differences and similarities in Zarathustra's journey descriptions

Zarathustra's journey in *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* is very similar to Ardāy-Vīrāf's:

- Zarathustra drinks the 'wisdom of all knowledge', in the form of water, like Ardāy-Vīrāf does.
- Zarathustra like Ardāy-Vīrāf visits both Paradise and Hell
- Both Ardāy-Vīrāf and Zarathustra come back to the world after seven days.

But there are also major differences between *Zand ī Wahman Yasn* and the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma.* The former describes Paradise and Hell quite briefly, but instead it describes 'the seven-branched tree' in great detail (Aša

[71] This paragraph of *Sipand Nask* has also been mentioned in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Zoroastrian Persian (XLII) and in the Parsig version (XXXII). But, they differ from each other, since in these works it is Ardāy-Vīrāf, who sees Davānūs [Parsig: dw'nws] in Hell.

[72] Holy water as a medium is not limited to this work. Chadwick has mentioned several myths; according to which, after drinking some water from the holy spring, one gains access to the spirit of knowledge (Chadwick 1932: I.649-650).

[73] Also in *Pahlavi Rivāyat* it is mentioned that Ohrmazd gives Zarathustra the "wisdom of all knowledge" (*PRDd* 1990: XXXVI.8-11).

2002‘a’: 370) something that is not mentioned in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. On the other hand, the latter work describes Paradise and Hell in greater detail.

The medium in Zarathustra’s journey is different from that in the aforementioned texts. The medium is in the form of water in *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*. In *Zarātušt-Nāma* the medium is ‘something like honey’, whereas in *Khulāṣa-yi Dīn* [versified] the medium is ‘a water-like milk’.

There is a part in this version of *Khulāṣa-yi Dīn* that has not been mentioned in any other text about the same journey: Zarathustra observes King Jamšīd’s soul and Garšāsp’s soul in hell. Seeing Jamšīd, Zarathustra intercedes for him in Ohrmazd’s presence and Ohrmazd accepts the intercession. Afterwards, Jamšīd recommends Zarathustra to keep himself from being deceived by Ahrīman (Pāhlan 1924: vv.156-174).

Wištāsp’s journey

There are four different versions of Wištāsp’s journey to the Other World. In the first version, found in the *Pahlavi Rivāyat* and *Dēnkard* (both in Parsig), the Amšāspandān (Immortals) are in contact with Wištāsp. In the second version, that of the *Wizīrgard ī Dēnīg* in Parsig and in *Zarātušt-Nāma*, *Qiṣṣa-yi dastūr…*, *Minū-xirad* [versified] by Dārāb Hurmazdyār Sanjāna[74] and *Khulāṣa-yi Dīn* in Zoroastrian Persian, it is Zarathustra who requests Wištāsp’s journey to Paradise from Ohrmazd, and the request is granted. In the third version, found in *Ṣaddar Bundahiš*, Ohrmazd grants four things to Guštāsp for his accepting the Religion. These are things that no kings have ever possessed, i.e. an immortal son, Pašūtan, who will reveal Zoroastrianism on the last days of the world; a son, Isfandiyār, who is more courageous than anyone else in the whole world; a minister, Jāmāsp, who is wiser than anyone else in the whole world, and, finally, the gift that Guštāsp’s spirit will be brought on a journey to Paradise to see his own eternal place (*ṢDB* 1909: IV.9-13). In the fourth version, which is found in the *Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may…* [versified], Guštāsp drinks wine and his spirit ascends to the Other World and makes a visit there (Unvālā 1922: I.270-271).

Because there are these different versions of Wištāsp’s journeys, an example of each one will be presented below.

Pahlavi Rivāyat

Zarathustra frequently invites Wištāsp to accept the good religion, but he does not accept it. The first time Ohrmazd sent Wahman, Ardwahišt and

[74] There are two versified versions of Minū-xirad available. The first one has been composed by Marzbān Rāvarī in 980 A.Y./1611 A.D. (MS.S.P.1191) and the other one by Dārāb Hurmazdyār Sanjāna in 1046 A.Y./1677 A.D. (MS.S.P. 38).

Ādur ī Burzēnmihr[75] to Wištāsp's house to promise him that if he accepts religion, he will get an immortal son, Pašūtan, who will never grow old. But Wištāsp does not have faith (*PRDd* 1990: XLVII.12-14).

The very last time, Ohrmazd tells Neryōsang to go to Ardwahišt Amahraspand and tell him to make a mixture of *mang* (henbane) and wine and give it to Wištāsp. Afterwards, he drinks the wine and becomes unconscious at once. Then his soul is taken to Heaven, and there he sees the place reserved for him in Paradise after he has accepted the true religion. When Wištāsp comes to his senses, he cries to his wife Hutōs: "Where is Zarathustra? I am ready to believe in his religion".

Zarthustra hears Wištāsp's cry, comes to him and at this moment Wištāsp accepts his religion (*PRDd* 1990: XLVII: 15-19).

Zarātušt-Nāma

Wizīrgard ī Dēnīg, *Zarātušt-Nāma*, *Minū-xirad* [versified], *Qiṣṣa-yi dastūr…, Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may…*, and *Khulāṣa-yi Dīn* are more or less similar as regards Wištāsp's journey. Since, there is doubt whether *Wizīrgard ī Dēnīg* in Parsig is indeed a very old text, the second version of Wištāsp's journey has been taken from *Zarātušt-Nāma* instead. The reason for this is that the narration is more complete here than in other texts. The narration is retold here:

Guštāsp/Wištāsp[76] asks Zarathustra to fulfil four of his wishes in order for him to believe in Zoroastrianism. His four wishes are:

- to be aware of his place in the Other World,
- to have a body which becomes invulnerable to any kind of weapons, because he feels that, if he professes this religion, he will get entangled in many wars,
- to be informed of all good and evil that has taken place and will take place in the world,
- immortality until the day of resurrection.

Zarathustra tells him that he will ask Ohrmazd to fulfill these four wishes but also that he must request one of them for himself and the other three for others.

The next day, when Zarathustra comes to the king, the gatekeeper tells him, that there are four mounted men all dressed in green at the door. Guštāsp asks Zarathustra about these four men. The four men present themselves as Amšāspandān before Zarathustra has any time to answer. Then they order king Guštāsp to accept the religion.

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[75] These names are in Zoroastrian Persian: Wahman (Bahman), Ardwahišt (Urdībihišt) and Ādur ī Burzēnmihr (Āzar Burzīnmihr)

[76] *The name of Wištāsp has mentioned as Guštāsp in Zarātušt-Nāma, Ṣaddar Bundahiš, Minū-xirad* [versified], *Qiṣṣa-yi dastūr…, Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may…*, *Khulāṣa-yi Dīn* and *Khulāṣa-yi Dīn* [versified].

Hearing the order, the king becomes unconscious. When he comes to his senses again, he expresses his wish to accept Ohrmazd's command. Hearing this the four Amšāspandān suddenly disappear. Then Zarathustra orders a *Sufra-yi Darūn* (table for consecrated bread) to be brought in and wine, flowers, milk and pomegranates to be arranged on the table.

Guštāsp drinks some of the sanctified wine and falls asleep for three days. During this time his soul ascends to Heaven, and there it perceives his place in the world to come, at the side of other chaste and virtuous men. It also experiences many other wonderful things.[77]

Pašūtan drinks the sanctified milk and becomes safe from old age and death.

Jāmāsp takes the sanctified flowers and gains all knowledge.

Isfandiyār eats the grains of the sanctified pomegranates and becomes invulnerable.

Afterwards, Guštāsp wakes up and prays. Then he calls for Zarathustra and explains in detail to him what he has seen in the Other World (Zartušt Bahrām 1959: vv.1102-1180).[78]

Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may-i ḥalāl va ḥarām ba qā'ida-yi dīn[*]

This versified text has been mentioned in Bahman Punjīyih's Rivāyat, and is about moderation in wine-drinking with reference to Ohrmazd's order to Zarathustra to drink moderately. The report of Guštāsp's journey "for the enlightenment of all people in the world" is found in the middle part of the text.

[Zarathustra][79] sanctifies the *darūn* (consecrated bread) and wine, gives it to King Guštāsp, the "brazen bodied" (Isfandiyār), Pašūtan and Jāmāsp. Guštāsp passes out immediately and sees the Other World happily and cheerfully. His body stays asleep in the present world for a week, but his soul visits Ohrmazd. After one week, when he returns back to the world, he accepts and disseminates Zoroastrianism (Unvālā 1922: I.270-271).[80]

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[77] According to *Khulāṣa-yi Dīn* [versified] when Guštāsp saw his name on the leaf of 'Sarv-i Kāšmar', he was surprised at Zarathustra's miracle then he believed in religion. But there are no words of his journey in the text (*Khulāṣa-yi Dīn* [versified] 1924: 53).

[78] For a long time it was believed that *Zarātušt-Nāma* was a poem by Zartušt Bharām Pajdū. But the true poet of this work was Kay-Kāvūs son of Kay-khusrau, and Zartušt Bahrām was just the copyist of the work (Rempis 1963: 337-342). However, due to the fact that the edition of *Zarātušt-Nāma* has the name Zartušt Bahrām as the author of the work, I am using this attribution here.

[*] *The Story about Drinking Religiously Permissible or Prohibited Wine in accordance with the Rules of the Religion*

[79] It is not clear from the text who gives 'consecrated bread' and wine to Guštāsp. However, it seems as though there is no one but Zarathustra who could do it.

[80] In another story entitled *Kaifiyyat-i qiṣṣa-yi sulṭān Maḥmūd-i ġaznavī* versified by Anūšīrvān Kirmānī the four wishes that Zarathustra fulfills are also highlighted in five poems (Rosenberg 1909: I.25, vv.43-47). The sending of Guštāsp to paradise can be found in one of these five poems (v.43).

Differences and similarities, in Wištāsp/Guštāsp's travel descriptions

There are only two promises mentioned in *Pahlavi Rivāyat* of the four given to Wištāsp, the promise of visiting Paradise and Pašūtan being born. But there is no mention of either Isfandiyār becoming invulnerable or Jāmāsp, the minister of Wištāsp, profiting of knowledge.

A mixture of *may* and *mang* (wine and henbane) is the medium of Wištāsp's journey to paradise in *Pahlavi Rivāyat*, but a mixture of *hōm*[81] and *mang* is the medium in *Dēnkard*.

According to *Pahlavi Rivāyat,* the soul of Wištāsp goes to Paradise to see his eternal place. But there is nothing about Wištāsp having gone unconciously to heaven in *Dēnkard*. Because of this, it seems that *Dēnkard* is incorrect.[82] The sanctified wine is the medium of Wištāsp's journey in *Wizīrgard ī Dēnīg*, *Zarātušt-Nāma* and *Minū-xirad* [versified]. The means of journeying in *Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may…* is 'consecrated bread' and 'consecrated win'. There is no medium in *Ṣaddar Bundahiš* and *Khulāṣa-yi Dīn*, where Ohrmazd himself takes Wištāsp's soul to Paradise.

Wištāsp's wish for Pašūtan has different forms in the texts. Wištāsp is informed of the glad tiding of Pašūtan being born in *Pahlavi Rivāyat*, *Dēnkard*, *Ṣaddar Bundahiš* and *Khulāṣa-yi Dīn*. Pašūtan is given the 'sanctified milk' in *Wizīrgard ī Dēnīg* and *Zarātušt-Nāma* and due to this he becomes safe from old age and death. In *Minū-xirad* [versified] Pašūtan becomes a virtuous and brave young man instead of becoming safe from old age and death.[83]

The wish of all knowledge for Jāmāsp is also different in different texts. There is no mention of Jāmāsp in *Dēnkard* and *Pahlavi Rivāyat*, but he receives the flower and profits by all knowledge in *Wizīrgard ī Dēnīg* and *Zarātušt-Nāma*. In *Ṣaddar Bundahiš* and *Khulāṣa-yi Dīn*, we are told about Jāmāsp gaining all knowledge, but there is no mention of how this occurs. Jāmāsp smells the *bōy* (comprehension) in order to gain all knowledge. In the *Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may…* there is no word of any of Guštāsp's wishes.

In the *Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may…* the spirit of Guštāsp, just like that of Ardāy-Vīrāf, stays for seven days in the Other World.[84] The interesting point is the comparison of Guštāsp's ascending to the Other World with Ardā's journey. Thus, after drinking three bowels of wine, Ardā's soul also ascends to the Other World, and he stays with the Holy Immortals for one

[81] 'Hōm' (Avestan: haoma-), a plant which syrup/sap/emulsion used in religious ritual.
[82] It is possible that *Dēnkard* has another and different version of this story.
[83] It seems that this paragraph, like some others, has been added to the original text by Darāb Hurmazdyār, the versifier. Or, perhaps the source for his versification was another quotation from *Dādestān ī Mēnō ī Xrad,* because this paragraph is not found in the Parsig texts of *Dādestān ī Mēnō ī Xrad*.
[84] In the *Zarātušt-Nāma* Guštāsp is asleep for three days.

week. He is there informed of secrets, and after returning he recounts them to the King of Kings of the time, Ardašīr-i Bābakān (Unvālā 1922: I.271).

Kerdīr's Journey

Kerdīr[85] lived in the third century A.D. As he himself says, he upheld an important religious title in the time of four Sassanid kings, (Šāpūr 240-272), (Hurmazd 272-273), Wahrām (Bahrām) son of Šāpūr (274-276) and Wahrām son of Wahrām (276-293) (Naqš-i Rajab 2001: 27-30). There are four inscriptions of Kerdīr: Sar Mašhad (*KSM*), Naqš-i Rustam (*KNRm*), Ka'ba-yi Zartušt (*KKZ*) and Naqš-i Rajab (*KNRb*). The Sar Mašhad inscription was engraved about 290 A.D, but the three others have been engraved later, maybe in the beginning of the reign of Wahrām III (Gignoux 1973: 215).

Kerdīr's report on his journey is to be found in the three inscriptions: (*KSM*), (*KNRm*) and (*KNRb*).The main report of Kerdīr's journey to the Other World is found in the Sar Mašhad inscription. The account is also found in the Naqš-i Rustam inscription. Unfortunately, the second half of both inscriptions are severely damaged, so the last part of the story is missing. An allusion to Kerdīr's journey is found in the Naqš-i Rajab inscription as well.

The Sar Mašhad and the Naqš-i Rustam inscriptions

When Kerdīr has been given a high rank in his country in the present world, he requests of the gods to show him the Other World as well, so that he may understand what will be the end of good and evil deeds and what Paradise and Hell are like. He also wants to know if he is a virtuous man and will go to Paradise or if he is an evil-doer and Hell will be his eternal place after death. Kerdīr claims that it is due to his obedience and what he has done for the sake of religion that he is allowed to see the Other World (*KNRm* 199: 5-6). In short, Kerdīr journeys to the Other World because he merits it (*KSM* 1991: 31).

After his request, Kerdīr prays ritually. Later, some creatures called *rathvīg* or *rēsīg*/*rīsīg* appear and reproduce pictures of the Other World. These creatures announce that they have seen a king who is riding a noble white horse and carrying a flag in his hand. Then someone whose face looks like Kerdīr's appears seated like a king on his throne. Perhaps this is Kerdīr's *faravahr* (his celestial body) (Gignoux 1968: 409).[86] He comes face to face

[85] There is a variation in the reading of Kerdīr's name: Kerdēr, Kirdēr, Kardēr, Kartir (Kardel in Coptic texts and Καρτειρ and Κιρδειρ in Greek texts). For further information on the various readings of this name, see the following works: Henning 1942: 941-953, (952); Gnoli 1980: 224, 247; Gignoux 1986: 105-106.

[86] Also see Tafaẓẓulī 1991: 734.

with a beautiful lady who is moving towards him from the east. Kerdīr declares openly that he has never seen such a noble lady.

Kerdīr's double takes the lady, who is the symbol of the religion, by her hand. The lady guides him on an illuminated path towards the east. They see a sovereign dressed in white who is sitting on a golden throne with a pair of scales before him. They both stand in front of him, and then they pass him and reach another king dressed in white, who is also sitting on a golden throne. The bottomless pit of Hell full of snakes, scorpions, crocodiles and all sorts of reptiles, which are very scaring to the narrators, becomes visible. A sharp razor-like bridge is fixed over the pit, and they have to pass it. While they are passing, the bridge expands in front of the two. They see another king who comes toward them from the other side. He takes them by the hand and leads them across the bridge. Afterwards, they all continue their way towards the east together.

After passing the bridge, the king, Kerdīr's double and the lady arrive in a portico. There is a throne at the far end of the portico and the two go up and sit in a special chamber. Afterwards, Kerdīr's double eats some bread and wine. Finally all go together into the presence of Ohrmazd, and it seems that Ohrmazd points at Kerdīr's double and gives him a smile of satisfaction (*KSM* 1991: 26-58; *KNRm* 1991: 49-73).[87]

The specific circumstances of Kerdīr's journey

After praying, Kerdīr says a benediction which he calls *āivēn mahr*. Perhaps this is a kind of "ritual mantra" (Utas 1989-1991: 15)[88] that helps him to conceive the Other World, but there are no details about this *āivēn mahr*. Unfortunately, this benediction is not among Zoroastrain benedictions known to-day. It is not known if *āivēn mahr* used to be accompanied by any particular religious ceremonies. Because of this, there is a question about whether Kerdīr used any kind of drinkables or edibles and whether he profited of any kind of medium to journey to the Other World. Also in the Naqš-i Rajab inscription, Kerdīr points to a ritual, in fact, another ritual the name of which is *kirdagān* (*KNRb* 2001'a': 8,12,15), for his journey to the Other World. The *kirdagān* ritual is also unknown. However, it seems that Kerdīr

[87] There are various readings, translations and studies of Kerdīr's inscriptions. Among the researchers are the following names: E. Thomas: 1868; E.W. West: 1870, 1881; E. Herzfeld: 1924, 1926; W.B. Henning: 1957, 1963; M. Sprengling: 1953; R.N. Frye: 1965; W. Hinz: 1971; M.-L. Chaumont: 1960; Ph. Gignoux: 1968 [1969], 1972, 1973, 1984; Ch.J. Brunner: 1974; M. Back: 1978; P.O. Skjærvø: 1983; MacKenzie: 1984, 1989 (MacKenzie 1989: 35-72). Later than MacKenzie: F. Grenet: 1990; Ph. Gignoux: 1991 (Gignoux 1991: 10-12) and Daryāyī 2001).
Some extracts of Kerdīr's inscriptions have been also published, for example: (Utas 1989-1991: 15-16), (Tafaẓẓulī 1991: 733-35).

[88] Compare Skjærvø 1983: 278ff.

was able to travel to the Other World due to accomplishing that ritual (Daryāyī 2001: 8).[89]

Gnoli and Gignoux express the opinion that according to Sar Mašhad and Naqš-i Rustam, Kerdīr has not journeyed to the Other World himself, but his narration is just intuitions that the gods have granted him (Gnoli 1979: 450; Gignoux 1984: 20). Gignoux adds that, although there is no mention of an intoxicating substance in Kerdīr's journey, everything related to his journey is due to his dreams or his intuitions (Gignoux 1984: 20). If, on the other hand, the earlier interpretation of his inscriptions is correct, Kerdīr's narration should be seen as a report of a journey to the Other World. Obviously, this journey and the report of it may be understood in various ways.

In Herzfeld's opinion Kerdīr, Ardāy-Vīrāf and Tansar are all the same person (Herzfeld 1935: 100-102). There is a great similarity between Kerdīr's and Ardāy-Vīrāf's reports of the Other World, and that is what has caused Herzfeld to assume that both of them are actually the same account. Considering the time when they lived, Tavadia criticizes Herzfeld for supposing them to be the same and argues that, although Ardāy-Vīrāf's journey report is similar to Kerdīr's revelation, it is not correct to make them the same person (Tavadia 1956: 118).

But how has the similarity between these two travel reports become possible? Here I would like to draw attention to the similarities between Ardāy-Vīrāf's and Kerdīr's travel reports. I suppose that these two reports have the same origin, that is, Kerdīr has probably not journeyed to the Other World. He has just rewritten Ardāy-Vīrāf's description and has thus produced a report of an unachieved journey.

But what was Kerdīr's motivation for doing this?

We know that Kerdīr did all that was in his power to propagate Zoroastrianism all over Iran, and he himself confirms this too: "The Religions of Ahrīman (devil) and the demons were expelled from the kingdom and they became homeless" (*KKZ* 1991: 9-10). In the continuation of such methods, Kerdīr needed to do something that no one else could do, something beyond human power. What is more beyond human power than journeying to the Other World? It would not be possible to do such such a thing except by being directly related to the gods and by their help. Kerdīr's claims of journeying to the Other World and his report of that journey would first and foremost have shown him as such a virtuous man of religion that the gods are helping him to see the Other World: "The gods presented me the Other World in the way it is in order for me to obtain more confidence" he says (*KNRb* 2001: 6-9).

[89] Nyberg (1974: II.113) has translated *kirdagān* as 'divine service' and 'pious work', although he has not written anything about the content of this ritual. MacKenzie (1990: 49) has translated *kirdagān* as 'action'.

The choice of a subject such as journeying to the Other World was quite suitable, because Jamšīd's, Zarathustra's, Wištāsp's and, perhaps the most important of all, Ardāy-Vīrāf's journey had been fixed in the mind of the Iranians and had a very old origin in their beliefs. Especially Ardāy-Vīrāf had the same sense of duty as Kerdīr believed himself to have, namely journeying to and seeing the Other World to be informed of the result of virtuous and evil deeds, and then to propagate and warn people of the Other World. Since there are few details in Jamšīd's, Zarathustra's and Wištāsp's journeys, Kerdīr chose Ardāy-Vīrāf's travel report as the best and most useful one. By claiming that he had visited the Other World and that the gods had helped him to do this, Kerdīr had not only obtained a super-human and holy image among people, but this had also been a suitable way to get closer to the king and to acquire a special position and increased power. In any case, he gained such a position that no one, not even the king himself, had the courage to question his holy state. Using Ardāy-Vīrāf's report had the advantage that there was no need for thinking about any details of the journey, because Ardāy-Vīrāf had finished it before him. Thus the account was ready and available and the sights had been described already.

As previously mentioned, it is a fact that except the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, there were other texts in which the Other World had been explained either in details or briefly, but if the description of the Other World by Kerdīr had used these texts, they could not have gained him the desired position. Furthermore, Jamšīd, Zarathustra and Wištāsp were not "chosen by the gods" in the same way, and their travel reports were not detailed enough to be a useful description of such a journey. As has been said before, Kerdīr was looking for a magnificent and clear model that could represent him as a chosen one and which at the same time could give a vivid picture of his journey. He could find such a model only in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. Therefore, he began to re-write Ardāy-Vīrāf's report.

When studying Kerdīr's functions, we understand that he was able to increase his power more and more. One of the proofs of this power is that, even if Kerdīr was never a king, he was the only ancient Iranian non-royal person who left royal types of inscriptions as his memorial (Daryāyī 2001: 3), the main subject of his inscriptions being just the reports of his journey to the Other World.

Nobody knows when the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* was written, not even approximately. But, since its main subject matter is very old (Widengren 1961: 13; Tavadia 1956: 117; Boyce 1968'a': 48; Tafaẓẓulī 1991: 733), it was simply possible for Kerdīr to find the opportunity of profiting from it, even in its oral form. His travel reports in Sar Mašhad and Naqš-i Rustam clearly give evidence of that. The gain that Kerdīr sought to attain resulted in the similarities between his travel report and that of *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, and, due to this, Herzfeld assumed Kerdīr, Ardāy-Vīrāf and Tansar to be the same person (Herzfeld 1935: 100-102). However, with due attention to their dif-

ferent histories and lifetimes, it is obviously incorrect to assume that these three persons were one and the same (Tavadia 1956: 117-118).

Journey of Zoroaster the Pamphylian

The fourth group includes two texts. The first is called *Peri physeōs* (*On Nature*), and is written in Greek. This work has been attributed to Zoroaster, and a part of it, which is preserved, is about Zoroaster's journey to the Other World. The second one is another account of the same journey, although with a different traveller, which Plato also quotes in his book *Politeia* (*The Republic*).

Peri physeōs

Among the works in the tradition of Hellenistic learning that have been attributed to Zoroaster, there are three well-known books. One of them is called "*Peri physeōs*", written on papyrus rolls, which includes four "books" or four volumes (Beck 1991: 528).[90]

Peri physeōs is the most interesting of the three works, both because of its more varied contents and its frame narrative. The contents of this book are thus presented as truths revealed by the gods to Zoroaster (idem: 528-529).

In one section of *Peri physeōs*, Zoroaster talks about his journey to the Other World. His speech has disappeared as well as the book itself, but the first section of the journey report has also been recorded by Clemens of Alexandria (150-c.215 A.D.) and has remained down to our time:

> These things I wrote, I, Zoroaster, son of Armenius, a Pamphylian by race, who died in war, whatever I learnt from the gods while I was in Hades (Hell) (idem: 518).[91]

Politeia

Plato has mentioned a variant of the travel account by Zoroaster the Pamphylian in the last section of his book *Politeia*, but Plato's narrating character is not Zoroaster but someone called Er: Here follows a summary of this account, which is found in *Politeia* (1942: II.491-521):

> Er, son of Armenius, was a brave man from Pamphylia. He was killed in war. When those killed in war were gathered together after ten days, even though all the other killed men's corpses had decayed, his body was fresh. When his

90 The two other books are *Asteroskopika* or *Apotelesmatika* in five volumes and *Peri lithontimion* in one volume. More information on these works can be found in Bidez-Cumont (1938: I.134).

91 Clément D'Alexandrie: *Strom.*, V, 14; 103, 2 (t. II, p. 395 Stählin = Eusèbe, *Praep. Evangel.*, XIII, 13, p. 675D) → Bidez, J. et Cumont, F.: **O 12**., II. 158-9.

body was placed on firewood to be set on fire on the twelfth day, suddenly he revived and narrated what he had seen in the Other World:

When the soul left my body, accompanied by a lot of people, we reached a wonderful place. There were two hatch-ways on the ground and two others in the sky opposite each other. Some judges were sitting between the hatch-ways, they judged people's deed in their lifetime. Whoever was righteous, they installed a tablet on his chest and led him to the right up towards the sky. They installed another tablet on the back of whoever was a tyrant and guided him to the left towards the way leading downwards.

When it was my turn, the judge told me to be alert and to observe everything well, so that I would be able to inform the people of the situation in the Other World when I returned. The people whose cases had been dealt with and who had given their account to God, each group went their way via either the celestial or the terrestrial hatch-way. Then a chaste and charismatic party came down from the celestial hatch-way. From the terrestrial hatchway a dirty and dusty group came out. Afterwards, all came together on a green meadow. The first group narrated their celestial joys merrily but the second explained in tears their thousands years of punishments and sufferings.

After a seven days residence on the meadow, both groups left on the eighth day, and then they arrived in a place where the Spindle of Necessity, on which the circulation of all heavenly spheres depends, was suspended by eight intricate wheels from a chain of light.

Finally, both groups drew lots from the Spindle of Necessity which determined their personalities and the style of their new lives on earth.

Afterwards, all went into the plain of oblivion and all were forced to drink of the water in the *River of Forgetfulness*. But Er was not permitted to drink because his mission was to explain the Other World to people of the present world. Even so, he was not able to remember where and how his soul returned to his body. When he opened his eyes upon his return to the world he found himself on top of the accumulated firewood.

Peri physeōs or Politeia

Concerning the author of *Peri physeōs* and its travel report, Proclus[92] believed that "the author [of *Peri physeōs*] has simply plagiarized the opening of the "Myth of Er" from Plato's Republic [*Politeia*] (614b), substituting Zoroaster's name for Er's. As often happens, the genuine and the fake changed places" (Beck 1991: 518).[93]

But Colotes, an Epicurean philosopher of the mid-third century was of the opinion that the plagiarism of the Myth of Er flowed in the other direction; that it was Plato who had substituted Er's name for Zoroaster's (idem: 529).[94]

There have sometimes been such arguments among philosophers. They thought that either the author of *Peri physeōs* had copied Plato's work or, on the contrary, it was Plato who had copied the author of *Peri physeōs*. Per-

[92] Proclus Diadochus is a Greek philosopher and mathematician (b.about 410-d. 485).
[93] Proclus, *In Remp.*, II, p. 109, Kroll: commentaire aux mots de Platon (p. 614 B) → Bidez, J. et Cumont, F.: **O 13**, II, p. 159.
[94] Bidez, J. et Cumont, F.: **O 13**, 2-6, II, p. 159-160.

haps, however, there have been some exaggerations in this discussion. For example, Colotes is accused of expressing his opinion about Plato, “The natural inference from this is that Colotes knew, or knew of, the pseudepigraphic treatise *On Nature* [*Peri physeōs*] and mistook the derivative (Zoroaster’s) for the original (Plato’s) – willfully, perhaps, in secterian zeal” (idem).[95]

Plato seems to have been affected by the work *Peri physeōs*, in which the journey is attributed to Zoroaster, and also to have been acquainted with Iranian, especially Zoroastrian, thoughts. It may be pointed out that, it is in Plato, in the *First Alcibiades* (I.121), the authenticity of which has been wrongly contested (written 390 B.C.), that the first definite mention in Greece of the name of Zoroaster appears, and here also the interest which Plato took in doctrines circulating under the authority of the Magi first manifests itself (Benveniste 1924: 16). Furthermore, towards the end of his life, Plato shows in the *Law* the importance which the distinction between the opposing realms of Good and Evil assumed in his eyes (*Law*: Leg X, 896).

Although already the oldest Greek philosophy delighted in regarding the world as the product of two opposite principles, it is difficult not to take into account the unanimous statements of Plato’s disciples, that he at least knew, even if he did not adopt, the dualistic conceptions of the Magi (Benveniste 1924: 16-17).

According to J. Bidez’ research,[96] Eliade finds it increasingly probable that at least certain elements of the Platonic system are of Irano-Babylonian origin (Eliade 1954: 128). The 22nd paragraph of Timaeus’ treatise (*Timaeus*: 22d) also provides evidence that Plato seems to have been familiar with Iranian conceptions of natural disasters as a means for the purification of the human race (Eliade 1954: 122).

Finally, A.D.H. Bivar is convinced of the similarities between Iranian-Zoroastrian narrations and that of Er. He investigates and studies traces of Plato’s Mithraistic thoughts in Pliny, Cicero and Seneca’s works to make it clear that Plato was acquainted with Zoroastrianism and Mithraism (Bivar 1998: 72-74, 77). He shows evidence in proof of this that cannot be easily ignored.

1. Plato as a young man lived in the home of his stepfather Pyrilampes. He must have heard stories about Iran and its royalties from Pyrilampes, since he had been employed on embassies to the Persian king (idem: 68-71).

[95] Bidez, J. et Cumont, F. : I, 111.

[96] Eliade believes that Bidez in *Éos, ou Platon et l’Orient* (Brussels 1945) “takes into consideration especially the researches of Boll, Bezold, W. Gundel, W. Jaeger, A. Götze, J. Stenzel, and even Reitzenstein’s interpretations despite the objections that some of them have aroused” (Eliade 1954: 120).

2. “A tradition attributed to Aristotle tells how a Magus who had come from Syria foretold to Socrates that his would be an enforced death” (idem: 71).[97]
3. “Plato encountered in Phoenicia Persians, from whom he learnt the doctrine of Zoroaster” (idem: 72).[98]
4. The “Myth of Er” has a quite characteristic relation to the Zoroastrian tradition (idem: 83).[99]
5. A certain visitor who came to Plato is described as a “Chaldaean”. He seems to have conversed with Plato during the last night of his life (idem: 73).[100]
6. The Persian Mithridates commissioned a portrait statue of Plato in the Academy (idem: 74)**.**

In addition to these, as Bivar states, Pliny (*NHXXX*, 30.1.9) also claims that Plato had studied the Zoroastrian religion (Bivar 1998: 72).

In accordance with this, even if the Myth of the journey of Er the Pamphylian has not been completely copied from the journey of Zoroaster the Pamphylian,[101] the main subject of Er’s journey to the Other World is still a result of the Greeks’, and in this context particularly Plato’s recognition of and acquaintance with Iranian-Zoroastrian thoughts and philosophy.[102]

Wirkak’s journey

In addition to the four above-mentioned groups, there is also another report of journeying to the Other World that is not written but pictorial.

In the summer of 2003, one of the greatest discoveries related to the Central Asian peoples of the sixth century A.D. took place outside Xi‘an in China. The excavation culminated in a typical Chinese house-shaped tomb, where a stone sarcophagus was placed on the ground. Its four walls were lavishly decorated with painted and gilded reliefs depicting scenes of banquets, hunting, journeys, caravans and, the most interesting one, a representation of an ascent to heaven. All these show a close contact between the Central Asian and Iranian worlds. There were two stone inscriptions on the

[97] See also Cumont 1975: 157.
[98] See also Westerink 1962: (page 9 of text, lines 8-13).
[99] See also Kerschensteiner 1945: 140-143.
[100] See also Kingsley 1995: 199-200.
[101] To study the effects of Iranian thoughts and philosophy upon Plato in his writing of the “Myth of Er”, refer to the following researches: Geffeken 1928: 517-528; Sanjana 1932: 39-80; Windischmann 1863. Duchesne-Guillemin has also contemplated the myth of Er, but he is in doubt whether, the other world basis on Iranian World View, has any influence on Plato; as Bidez claims (Duchesne-Guillemin 1953: 101-103).
[102] About the effects of Iranian philosophy, especially the Zoroastrian thoughts on Plato, refer to: Brobeck 1893: 238-250; Panoussi 1969: 91-114; Panoussi 2536 (1978); Hansman 1978: 215-227.

lintel above the door of the southern side of the sarcophagus, one in Sogdian and the other one in Chinese. The owner of the tomb was called Wirkak, an Iranian merchant, according to the Sogdian inscription.[103] He died at the age of eighty-six years in 579 (Grenet, Riboud et Junkai 2004: 274[104]).

The relief of Wirkak's tomb

A stone door was erected at the southern side of Wirkak's sarcophagus, surrounded by two guardian gods, each trampling a demon. There are two false mullion windows at both sides of the sarcophagus and under each one a picture of a priest-bird was painted, supposedly a symbol of Surūš (idem: 278-279).

The most important part of Wirkak's tomb relief is three partial scenes of the Other World. Chinvad Bridge is in the centre of the scene. Four persons, a man, a woman and two children are passing over the bridge. They have nearly reached the end of the passage. The light in front of them gives light to the way of the souls.[105] Some animals, such as horses, donkeys, cows, sheep, camels, a bird and some unknown animals, are following them over the bridge. Two persons dressed in Zoroastrian priest clothes are standing as guardians at the entrance of the bridge. The heads and shoulders of the two guardian dogs of the bridge are also seen immediately behind these two priests. The mountain[106] which the soul must climb stands at a distance beyond the dogs.

Hell is painted as a dreadful mass of waves of a lake under the bridge. Several posts with monster headed capitals emerge out of the interior of Hell.[107] Along the Hell side, in the left part of the relief, ducks are swimming in the water towards a stony bank.

A group of celestial musicians are playing different kinds of musical instruments in the sky above the bridge. A herd of winged horses are shown flying in the middle part of the relief.

A two-armed god holding a trident in his right hand, seated cross-legged on three bulls,[108] is seen at the top right corner of the relief. The Amšāspandān, the celestial beings, are pictured on Wirkak's tomb relief at different levels in the sky (idem: 273-284).

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[103] Pay attention to close similarities between two names, Wirkak and Vīrāf.

[104] Rahām Aša introduced this source to me. Thanks to him.

[105] *ātaxš-kirb* (The godess of Fire) is the assistant of virtuous souls in passing Chinvad Bridge and destroying the darkness of Hell (*WZad* 1993: XXX.52).

[106] "[That goddess] stands as a mountain for the soul to climb to the top" (ibid).

[107] "The lower structure of the bridge is supported by posts with monster headed capitals" (Grenet, Riboud et Junkai 2004: 277). But they are more similar to monster creatures of Hell than to posts supporting a bridge.

[108] Among the gods, it is Wāy who wears the armors of war and has a sharp spear and golden armours (*Yt*. XV 1959: ll.48). Wāy's armours are described in *Yasht* XV.56. But there is nothing said about his trident.

Since Wirkak's tomb relief is a unique pictorial specimen of an Iranian's journey to the Other World, it is extraordinarily valuable.

Specific circumstances of Wirkak's journey

Wirkak's journey has one specific charcteristic, namely that among all the Iranian journeys to the Other World it is the only one that does not show a return to this world. Due to this, Wirkak's pictorial report of the Other World cannot be his own narration. Perhaps his successors, relatives or friends have painted his journey to the Other World. There is nothing known about any customs of this type, since Zoroastrians neither used to bury their dead nor lay them in tombs. Thus, there are no traces of Zoroastrian graves or tombs anywhere.[109] Due to that, Wirkak's tomb relief is unique in its kind. It can be supposed that this is due to the effect of the culture and painting style of China, the country where he lived, since there they have painted tombs and graves.

It is also possible that Wirkak's commercial journeys had taken him to Egypt as well, and that he had been affected by the culture of that ancient country. This may be one of the reasons why he had ordered his tomb to have pictures of his journey to the Other World. It is quite clear, however, that this journey is depicted according to Zoroastrian beliefs.

Some of the motifs on Wirkak's tomb relief give reason for astonishment. These are the fact that there are two children among those who pass over Chinvad Bridge, and, indeed, that a group of four are passing together. The different animals that pass over the bridge and the existence of celestial musician and winged horses, swimming birds and a two-armed god seated on the three bulls in the highest heaven are all reasons for astonishment. Passing Chinvad Bridge is an individual act in all abstract narrative texts. There is no indication of children passing Chinvad Bridge in Zoroastrian texts,[110] and

[109] There are some exceptions among royalties. For example, in spite of all doubts and debates related to the religion of the Achaemenian kings (Zoroastrian or non-Zoroastrian), the place of their tombs in Naqš-i Rustam must be considered (Herzfeld 1941: 216-220). Likewise, the tomb of King Khusrau I Anūša-Ravān (531-579 A.D.) is important because of the legends about the place where it was discovered at the time of the Abbassid Ma'mun (Ma'mūn-i 'Abbāsī) (Jamālzāda 1975: 25-60).

[110] It may be that the children are passing the bridge, indicates the *stūr* in Parsig and *sitar*, *situr*, *istar* or *istur* in Zoroastrian and New Persian. According to Zoroastrianism, whenever, someone dies who has had no child when his soul reaches the Chinvad Bridge, the middle part of the bridge seems to be broken. Then the soul feels astonished and perplexed at what to do? It can neither return nor continue. He is called a person of "the broken bridge", because the Amšāspandān will not judge him at this point. He should wait there until the resurrection day. Due to this, his heirs appoint a child as his 'stūr' (*istur* / *istar*). This child is the legal heir of the dead person. In this case, the Chinvad Bridge rejoins and the Amšāspandān can judge his deeds without any delay (*ṢDB* 1909: LXII.1-6).

there is no allusion to animals passing the bridge, neither to winged cows, swimming birds nor the god seated on bulls with a trident in his hand.[111]

On the other hand, there are some common points between Wirkak's tomb relief and the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* as well as to other Zoroastrian texts about the Other World:[112] Surūš is presented in the form of a bird (rooster?) that is painted twice on the southern front side of the sarcophagus, the presence of the two Amšāspandān at the entrance of the Chinvad Bridge, the existence of two guardian dogs, the fire that lightens the passage way, the mountain which the virtuous soul climbs, the existence of different levels in Heaven, and the fact that different Amšāspandān and Ohrmazd are found in different positions in Heaven.

After Islam

Belief in the existence of the Other World, as well the reports of a journey to this Other World was so extensive and deep in ancient Iran that its effects can easily be found upon Iranian culture after Islam. This influence is manifested, for example, in a variety of religious and non-religious, versified or prose works.[113] A citation of a few examples of famous Iranian works related to the Islamic period can give an indication of this massive influence.

New Persian literature, from the early days of the New Persian language up to now, has seen plenty of works in which the soul, after dying, has given a report of what it has met in the Other World. This is indeed a major part of the Islamic-Iranian religious classical mystical and gnostic literature. To explain this, just a few examples of such works from different ages will be presented briefly. This can prove *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*'s influence on the Islamic Iranian literature.

The first effects are present in Ṭabarī's[114] (Ṭabarī 1961: 3.666)[115] Maibudī's[116] (Maibudī 1985: 4.259,286) and Rāzī's[117] commentaries of the

[111] Wirkak's tomb relief represents a mixture of eastern mythological beliefs, but why these mixed motifs have been pictured on a Zoroastrian tomb, is a question that probably has plenty of answers.

[112] For more information related to the main subject of Wirkak's tomb, refer to comments in Grenet, Riboud et Junkai 2004: 278ff.

[113] As was mentioned at the beginning of this section, in this study we just review some descriptions and journeys to the Other World in the Iranian tradition in order to study the effects of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* upon the Iranian Islamic culture and works that have been created in this cultural sphere at different times. Attention to the probable effects of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* upon works created beyond the Iranian tradition such as the *Risālat-ul ġufrān* (Epistle of Forgiveness) by Abul-ʻalā Maʻarrī and *Divina Commedia* by Dante Alighieri, are not discussed, since there is enough research and debate related to them.

[114] Muḥammad Jarīr-i Ṭabarī has written his Commentary of the Quran in ten volumes in the year 966-975.

[115] About the effects of Iranian culture upon Ṭabarī, refer to Henry Corbin's writings: Corbin, Henry 1971: *L'Homme de lumière dans le soufisme iranien*, Paris, p. 56.

Quran: “It has been quoted that the prophet said: when a righteous dead person rises up from the grave, his good deeds come to him in a very beautiful appearance, the dead asks, who is it? I see you as very good-looking, of a good nature and beneficent. He replies: I am your good deeds. Then he leads him and gives light to his way towards Paradise. On the contrary, when the unbeliever rises up from his grave, his evil deed comes to him in an ugly and ill-tempered shape. The dead asks; who is it whom I see as an ill-favoured man. He replies: I am your evil deeds, I will not leave you until I lead you to Hell”, Rāzī states in his commentary (Rāzī 1965: 5.209).

Another work clearly and exactly affected by Iranian beliefs, is Imam Muḥammad Ġazzālī’s (l058-1111) recapitulation of good deed (*daēnā*: conscience/religion) visiting the dead souls in the Other World. In Ġazzālī’s version the face and figure of good deed (*daēnā*/*dīn*) has been modified to a handsome man because of Islamic restrictions, but the message and the main words are all the same as in the Iranian ancient narration: “Then a well dressed, sweet-smelling, handsome man comes to him (the soul of the dead) and says: I give you good tidings of your Creator’s mercy and of the Paradise where you will enjoy eternal bliss. The soul replies to him: Peace upon you, who are you then? - I am your good deed, he says”.[118] (Ġazzālī → Muḥaqqiq 1960: 103).

Maulavī’s view of “bad death” as opposed to “good death” is also an indication of how he has been directly affected by the concept of the soul visiting his *daēnā* (conscience/religion) in Zoroastrian tradition. In his book, *Maṯnavī-yi maʿnavī*, he states: “death as a mirror in which we see the reality of ourselves, whether it is ugly, it is not the fault of death and if it is nice, its beauty is nothing, except the reality of our personality”[119] (Šafīʿī Kadkanī 1974: 73).

The subject matter of the poem *Sair-ul-ʿibād ilal-maʿād* of Sanāʾī Ġaznavī (died about 1130) is also a description of an imagined journey to the seven firmaments and the place of evil-doings, Hell of snakes, and fires, then to the Kingdom of Heaven (place of the angels), the place of the good and radiant human beings, and at the end to the highest point of Heaven (sky of skies), the place of light and the righteous (Sanāʾī Ġaznavī 1969: 179-233). Another description of the same as journey can be seen in *Miṣbāḥ-ul arvāḥ* (Lantern of the souls), versified by Šamsuddīn Muḥammad-i Bardsīrī at the

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[116] Abulfaẓl Aḥmad ibn-i Muḥammad Maibudī began writing a ten volume Commentary, *Kašful-asrār wa ʿuddat-ul-abrār* (Discovering the Secrets and Promise to free men), in 1126.

[117] Abul-futūḥ-i Rāzī, born in about 1087 dead after 1157, is the writer of a ten volume Commentary, called *Rawḥ al-jinān va rūḥ al-janān* (The Breeze of the Gardens and the Spirit of the Heart).

[118] «ثم يأتيه آت حسن الوجه طيّب الريح حسن الثياب. فيقول ابشر برحمه ربّک و جنّات فيها نعيم مقيم. فيقول: بشرک الله بخير من انت؟ فيقول انا عملک الصالح.»

[119] مرگِ هر یک ای پسر همرنگِ اوست — پیشِ دشمن دشمن و بر دوست، دوست
روىِ زشتِ تُست، نه رخسارِ مرگ — جانِ تو همچون درخت و مرگ، برگ
از تو رُسته است، ار نکوی است ار بد است — ناخوش و خوش هر ضمیرت از خود است

end of the eleventh century A.D.[120] This journey is divided into seven stages. The name of each is extracted from an attribute of the soul. The first stage is the *nafs-i ammāra(h)* (spirit of lasciviousness), his place is Hell, full of fire, smoke and devils, and the last stage is the *nafs-i fāniyya(h)* (mortal spirit) (Utas 1989-1991: 18-21). Both of these poetic texts, are clearly influenced by the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, especially as regards the description of the journeys and the places that the journeys at last reach.

These traditions have even affected the literature of Iran after the constitutional revolution (1906), which is the time of the foundation of Iranian modern literature. At that time, a Muslim priest, Ḥujjat-ul-islām Āqā-Najafī Qūčānī (1878-1944) was profoundly influenced by the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, when he wrote his "novel-like" work" called: *Siyāḥat-i ġarb* (Touring the West),[121] which is an idealistic-imaginary journey to the Other World.

In modern Iranian literature and drama this theme of journeying to the Other World has recurred over and over again. Riẓā Dānišvar wrote a satirical play, *Safar-i āqā-yi Ardā-Vīrāf* (Mr. Ardā-Vīrāf's Journey), at the time of the Iranian Islamic Revolution (1978-1979). Bahrām Bayzāyī also wrote a play on this theme, *Guzāriš-i Ardā-Vīrāf* (The Report of Ardā-Vīrāf), in 1999 (Qūkāsiyān 2002: 320).

However, none of them has been published yet. In the chain of journeys to the Other World in Iranian literature, whether profiting from the ancient story of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* or reproducing it directly, or even applying it to Islamic beliefs, it has been used continuously throughout the centuries, being related to different matters and problems of the actual periods. The ultimate goal of these citations is to show the beauty of good deeds and the enormous pleasant reward in Heaven for them. They also try to show the ugliness of evil deeds and how they are punished in Hell. Still, the evil deeds of humanity have increased more than ever. Does this not show that mankind more and more seems to doubt the existence of retribution in the Other World?[122]

[120] The text version that I use has been established according to the Badī'ulzamān-i Furūzānfar's posthumous notes (found in the edition publ. by I. Afšār). I have utilized the critical edition of Bo Utas, which he has not published yet.

[121] About the 'West' writers refer to this citation of Imām-Muḥammad Bāqir, the fifth Imam of the Shiites: "There is a garden in the *west* of the world, irrigated by the Euphrates, where the believers' spirits enjoy God's gifts every morning and evening." (Āqā-Najafī Qūčānī 2001: 3)

[122] There are two major secondary works on Iranian conceptions of the Other World, namely Söderblom (1901) and Pavry (1926).

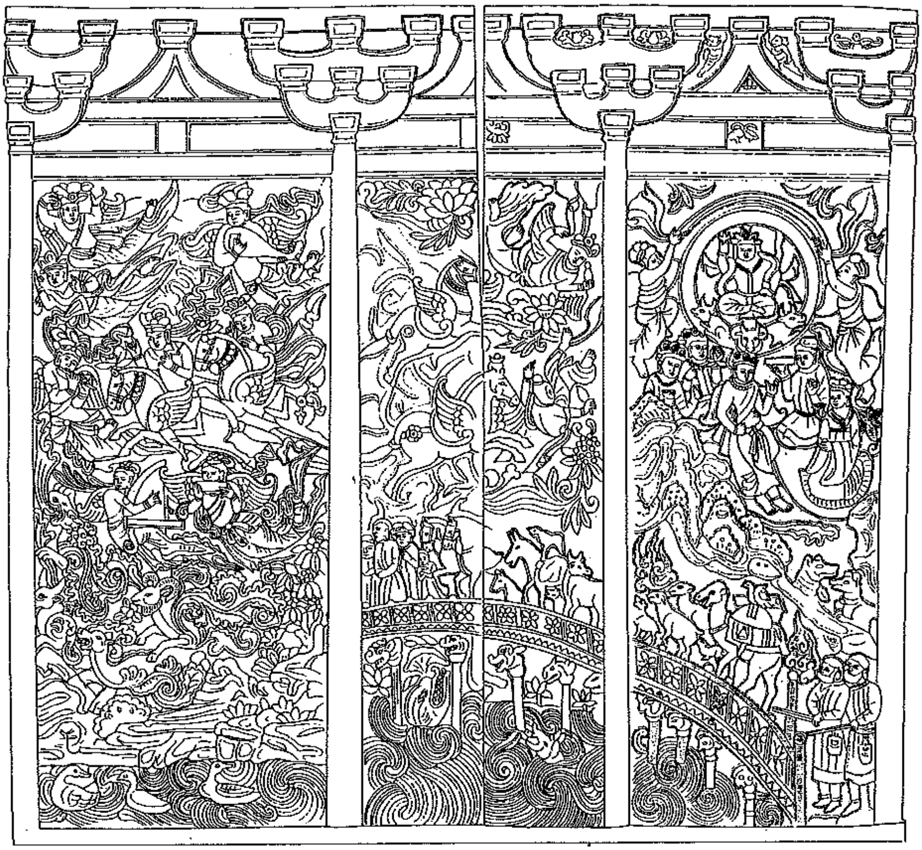


Figure 1: Sogdian tomb, Xi'an: drawing of the eastern side.[123]

[123] This drawing has been published in an article in *Studia Iranica* (2004: 280). I thank Mr. Frantz Grenet for his permission to use this sketch.

IV. Previous Research

During the last two centuries, on several occasions mention has been made of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Zoroastrian Persian prose. Three different approaches to the work can be seen, as follows:

- Indication of the existence of the work, sometimes with an explanation about its theme
- Presentation of manuscripts of the work found in different libraries
- Research about the contents of the work

The occasions in the scientific literature where the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* has been mentioned are in chronological order as follows:

1816 J. A. Pope is the first researcher who presents a translation of *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in one of the European languages. Pope's translation is closely similar to the Zoroastrian Persian prose version of *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. He presents three different texts as the basis of his translation into English,[124] all three in Zoroastrian Persian (Pope 1816: xiv).

- The first, in prose, by Nūšīrvān Kirmānī
- The second, in verse, by Zartušt Bahrām [Pajdū]
- The third, in prose, by the same

There are two points which need correction in Pope's presentation of his sources. The first is that the narration by Nūšīrvān Kirmānī is in verse,[125] not in prose, and it has been printed in the *Dārāb Hormazyār's Rivāyat* (Unvālā 1922: II.331-342). The second point is that it is not clear, what he means by the words "by the same" in his third source. Does it mean Zartušt Bahrām? This would be the natural interpretation. However, there is no track of any *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* narrated in prose by Zartušt Bahrām, and, furthermore, he himself has never been mentioned in connection with such a text anywhere. Here it is necessary to mention that Kay-Khusrau Isfandiyār has indicated the existence of a prose version of *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* versified by Zartušt Bahrām, in his *Dabistān-i Mażāhib* (*The school of religions*) (Kay-Khusrau Isfandiyār 1983: 2.94-100). But, is this exactly the same text as the one referred to by Pope? However, in one part, this cannot be "that prose narration by the same", i.e. Zartušt Bahrām, because this is a narration in prose by

[124] According to the sub-title of Pope's book (*The Ardai Viraf Nameh, or the Revelations of Ardai Viraf, Translated from the Persian and Guzeratee versions*), he has also used the Gujarati version for his translation, but there is no mention of this in his references.
[125] Neither Haug and West (1872), nor Mu'īn (1946) mention this fact.

Kay-Khusrau Isfandiyār of this work.[126] On the other hand, Pope has not mentioned any version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* narrated in prose by Kay-Khusrau Isfandiyār anywhere. Haug and West supposed that Pope's third text might refer to a copy of the *H28* manuscript (Haug-West 1872: xix). Since Pope's translation is very close to the Zoroastrian Persian prose *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, thus, it is probably a true supposition.

Finally, it must be mentioned that Pope had stated in the end of his preface that the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* had been originally written in *Zand* and it has later been translated into Persian, Sanskrit and Hindi of Gujarat (= Gujarati) (Pope 1816: xiii-xiv). However, the question is whether Pope means the original meaning of *Zand*, because *Zand* means the translation of the Avestan texts into Parsig, often accompanied by a commentary. In other words, nothing is "written originally" in *Zand* but rather translated into *Zand* (= Parsig) from the Avestan language. It cannot be ruled out that, like many others who have used the word *Zand* in former times, Pope also understood something else by this word than the way it is used today. The three terms *Avesta*, *Zand* and *Pazand* have earlier been mixed up and used in an inconsistent way (Tafaẓẓulī 1997: 115).[127]

1870 Ed. Sachau mentioned the Zoroastrian Persian prose translation of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in his research about Zoroastrian Persian works and their themes. He considers this Zoroastrian Persian text the basis of Pope's translation into English (Sachau 1870: 234).

1872 Martin Haug and E.W. West published the first extensive investigation about different versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* together with a Parsig text edited by Dastūr Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa. They also published two other texts; *Gosht-i Fryano*, edited by West (pp. 205-266) and *Hadokht-Nask* edited by Haug (pp. 267-316). The work also contains a transcription and translation of all three texts.

In their research, Haug and West point out the existence of various versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in several languages, such as Parsig, Pazand, Sanskrit, Old Gujarati, New Gujarati and Persian. Furthermore, they also introduce many of its manuscripts; among them the *H28*, which consists of the Zoroastrian Persian prose text. In addition to introducing the text, they have printed the preface of *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, which is a part of this very manuscript. Haug and West's work includes the translation of this preface, too.

Reading this preface, they have made some mistakes, for example, they have read «بینید» *bīnīd* as «پلینند» *plīnand* and «یسیر» *yasīr* as «بیستر» *bīstar*.

[126] The name of the first character is *Ardā-Vīrāf* in Zartušt Bahrām's version, but it is *Ardāy-Vīrāf* in *Dabistān-i Mażāhib*.

[127] Nowadays *Zand* is again used in its original meaning of Avestan text translated into Parsig, often accompanied by a commentary.

These mistakes may originate from difficulties in reading the Persian handwriting of the manuscript.

Furthermore, Haug and West (Haug-West 1872: iii-Lxxxvii) have made several assumptions and observations about the Zoroastrian Persian prose version, of which the following are the most important:

- The probability of 200 years' antiquity of the *H28* manuscript[128]
- Similarities between the preface of the *H28* manuscript and the first three chapters of the Parsig version
- The probability that the *H28* manuscript is in fact the third text, referred to by Pope (see above)
- The fact that three to five folios of the *H28* manuscript could be missing
- The likelihood that the same *H28* manuscript is the possible source that has been used by Zartušt Bahrām for his versified version
- Important differences in the themes of the three texts; the Parsig version, the Zoroastrian Persian prose version and Pope's version
- The existence of another version of *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Zoroastrian Persian prose which does not differ much from those in verse, but without any preface, narrated by Rāmā Khambāyatī. Dastūr Hoshangji is mentioned as a source for this information.

It is important to note that Khambāyatī's version mentioned by Haug and West is just the same version that is found in the *H28* manuscript, and there is no "other Persian prose version" of this work. This version also has a preface and shows just the same divergence from the *H28* manuscript, which has been seen between the *H28* and the versified version. There are several transcripts of Khambāyatī's version in the Navsari and Bombay libraries.

Furthermore, one of the most important points in Haug's and West's research is their assumption about the original account and the first version of this visionary journey. Haug and West believe that the original account of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* lacked a preface and that it was added later by other authors who stood in close relation to the Zoroastrian cleric circles (*Idem*: lxxiii).

1873 In the first catalogue of the manuscripts of Mulla Firuz's Library in Bombay, Edward Rehatsek recalls a collection in Persian named *rivāyat* (narration) with the sub-number VIII.2. One of the treatises in this collection is a Zoroastrian Persian prose *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, about which Rehatsek has given some information (Rehatsek 1873: 179).

1889 While presenting the *Bodl. Or. 719* manuscript of Bodleian Library, Ed. Sachau has mentioned an anonymous prose-version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. He supposed this was the text from which Dastūr Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū's versification originated. Afterwards, he mentioned Pope's translation of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. Then, quoting the first lines of the Bodleian

[128] This means that it would be from the mid-17th century.

manuscript, he says that it is identical word for word to the *H28* manuscript in Munich. Finally, he indicates the existence of another manuscript of this same text in the India Office Library (Sachau 1889: I.1112-1113).

1896-1904 While presenting the Zoroastrian Persian prose and verse works, i.e. “The Modern-Persian Zoroastrian Literature of the Parsis” as he himself names it, E.W. West also makes mention of the *H28* manuscript of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in the Munich Library which is an incomplete copy (West 1896-1904: 125).

1900 E. Blochet introduces the *Suppl. Pers. 47* manuscript in the *Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. The *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is the sixteenth text of Blochet’s catalogue (Blochet 1900: 100). Many years later, Blochet repeats this information in the first volume of the *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris (Blochet 1905: 1.169).

1902 Dastur Kaikhusru Jamaspji Jamasp Asa, published the Parsig version of the *Arda Viraf Nameh*, in addition to the Gujarati text and Zartušt Bahrām’s versified version.[129] He refers to research done by Pope, Haug-West, and Barthélemy. In his introduction, Jamasp Asa points to the discrepancy between the time setting of the Parsig and the Zoroastrian Persian versions, and, following this, he quotes part of the introduction to the Zoroastrian Persian version in Pope’s translation (Jamasp Asa 1902: i-xii).

1903 Hermann Ethé presents the manuscript *2818* of the India Office Library with reference also to the manuscript in the Bodleian Library. In his presentation, he mentions Haug’s and West’s research (Ethé 1903: xv-xx). Ethé also supposes that the text he has presented might be the same as the version used as the basis of the versified *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* by Dastūr Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū (Ethé 1903: I.1518-1519).

1904 Ervad Bomanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar, along with presenting the *Ṣaddar Bundihiš*, proceeds to make a comprehensive presentation of all manuscripts: *T.30* in Navsari, the *M*, belonging to Unvālā (E.M.R. Unvālā), the *E* in Navsari, and the *K* belonging to Dastūr Kaikhusro Jamasp Asa, and he emphasizes the presence of the Zoroastrian Persian *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in all of these (Dhabhar 1909: xix-xxi).

1904 On the basis of Pope’s English translation of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, Geo Maddox publishes a poetic translation of this same work. Maddox calls his work “A Rendering in Prose-Verse of a Translation by Mr. T. A. Pope”,[130] and he divides it into two “books” “Heaven” and “Hell” (Maddox 1904: 1-29, 30-65).

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[129] In this edition *Arday Viraf Nameh* has 1162 verses, which is incomplete (Mu‘īn 1946: 48). The original version of this work in ‘Afīfī’s edition (1964) contains 1849 verses.

[130] This name has been written in the second title of the book, both on the cover and the first page, but it is wrong, because the name is actually J.A. Pope and not T.A. Pope.

1915 Christian Bartholomae introduces the prose version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* of the Munich Library *M73* (*H28*) comprehensively, and he quotes three short selected sections from the text (Bartholomae 1915: 290-292).

1920 In his book about the history of the Parsis, Shahpursha Hormasji Hodivala proceeds to the Rivāyat of Kama Asa and a description of how the work, including *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma,* was taken from Iran to India. He then tells about the colophon and the date of copying of the prose version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and relates it to this narration. He also mentions another manuscript of the text which is in prose and dated the year 901 A.Y. /1532 A.D., along with recalling several other manuscripts of various versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* (Hodivala 1920: 296-301).

1923'a' E.B.N. Dhabhar introduces a prose manuscript of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, in K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Catalogue sub-numbered MS.65, showing that it has lost several pages in different places (Dhabhar 1923'a': 149-150).

1923'b' E.B.N. Dhabhar presents two other prose manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, from Mulla Firuz Library, in two separate collections, sub-numbered *M.S.105* and *M.S. 128* (Dhabhar 1923'b': 71-72; 85-86).

1925 E.B.N. Dhabhar presents the *T.30* collection in Meherji Rana Library, in Navsari city, which is the oldest prose manuscript of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. He also introduces another manuscript of this work sub-numbered F.44 in this same catalogue (Dhabhar 1923'c': 25-26, 118-120).

1940 Jamshedji Maneckji Unvālā introduces colophons of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* manuscripts from the *Suppl. Pers .47* of Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, the *830. 280. 18A* of the London India Office Library, and *Bodl. Or. 719* of the Bodleian Oxford Library (Unvālā 1940: 18, 100, 120).

1941 In his *Oriental Treasures* catalogue, Jamshed Cawasji Katrak gives a brief description of Kama Asa's Rivāyat collection and the date when it was taken from Iran. He mentions that the prose *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is part of this collection and also tells about the existence of a copy of it. Furthermore, he states the place where the manuscript and its copy are being kept (Katrak 1941: 209-10).

1946 Muḥammad Mu'īn publishes an investigation about the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and its various versions in different languages, among them the Zoroastrian Persian prose version. However, Mu'īn has profited from Haug's and West's investigation to provide information about the prose version of this work, i.e. the *H28* manuscript. His research presents some new contributions as well:

- A reconsidering of Pope's sources
- An attempt at dating the *H28* manuscript to the 4th and 5th century A.H./10th and 11th century A.D. on the basis of a stylistic analysis
- If Haug's and West's guess is true about Zartušt Bahrām basing his versified text on the Zoroastrian Persian prose translation, of which the

H28 manuscript is a copy, this translation must have come into existence before the 7th century A.H./13th century A.D.

- An edition of the preface, based on the text published in Haug and West (1872) (Mu'īn 1946: 58-64).

While editing the preface, Mu'īn has also amended some words that have been written erroneously by the copyist and some where Haug and West are mistaken in their reading. However, it seems that he has not had any microfilm or photocopy of the original manuscript. Thus, due to that, he has done his edition on the basis of the edition of Haug and West; because of this, some reading mistakes of these two researchers were retained in his edition, for example; he reads «نیّتی» "niyyatī" as «نیپستی» "nīpstī" and «ساختند» "sāxtand" as «پساختند» "pasāxtand" and then he had to explain the meaning of these words in the footnotes.

1964 Raḥīm 'Afīfī edits and publishes the versified version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* by Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū. In the beginning of his book, he re-publishes the same preface of the Zoroastrian Persian prose version that Mu'īn has edited according to the Haug and West edition, including Mu'īn's explanations ('Afīfī 1964: 42-52).

1967-1969 Žāla Āmūzgār mentions the prose *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in her doctoral thesis, which is an investigation about Zoroastrian Literature in Persian (1969). Referring to the MS.S.P.47 manuscript of Paris, she finds this a complete copy of the work written in a simple style. Consequently, she quotes West's opinion about the Munich copy as incomplete (Āmūzgār 1967: 64; 1969: 199).[131]

1983 Žāla Āmūzgār collates two versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*; the Parsig version and Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū's versified text. She also mentions the prose version of *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and the two manuscripts of it in Paris and Munich (Āmūzgār 1983: 105).[132]

1995 Referring to the study made by Haug and West in 1872 and the long preface of the *H28* manuscript, Carlo G. Cereti points out that Ardā Vīraf and Ardashīr Pāpakān were coevals, and states that as "an interesting 'mytheme' widespread among Indian Zoroastrians that links Ardā Wīrāz with Ardašīr" (Cereti 1995'a': 142).

2001 Carlo G. Cereti refers in a chapter about *Ardā Wīrāz Nāmag* to Pope's translation based on the Persian and Gujarati versions and also mentions the *M73 (H28)* manuscript in which Ardāy-Vīrāf and Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān are coevals (Cereti 2001: 122-123).

2001 Bīžan Ġaybī studies the differences between two versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*; the one versified by Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū and the Parsig

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131 The number of the Munich manuscript is *Haug MH7* in both these investigations; that is a mistake and the correct number is *M73* (*Haug 28*).

132 Āmūzgār does not mention the number of the Munich manuscript in this work. She just gives the page numbers of the Barthélemy in which this manuscript has been presented.

version. Along with that, he also here and there makes several references to the Zoroastrian Persian prose version.

Moreover, he proposes the existence of two versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, which are originally of two different and disparate backgrounds. One is the versified version by Zartušt Bahrām which originates in an irreligious and mythic source and the other one is a Parsig text that has been created according to religious traditions.

As previously mentioned, Haug and West were the first scholars to bring up the probability of an originally irreligious account of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* (Haug-West 1872: lxxiii). Ġaybī also cites several examples from the "irreligious" version of Zartušt Bahrām to confirm this thesis and then he compares these examples with the same matters in the Parsig version, which is a "religious" text (Ġaybī 2001: 8, 14).[133]

In addition to the above mentioned persons, there are many other researchers who have commented on the Zoroastrian Persian prose *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and of its manuscripts; some of them are the following: Rustamji (1868),[134] Jamasp Asa (1902: i; iii), Modi (1922: I.12), Pavry (1926: 108-110), Tavadia (1956: 118), Gignoux (1984: 29-31), Tafaẓẓulī (1997: 169).

Naturally, this presentation of research is what I have found during my careful investigation of the matter. In other words, there may be more studies of the Zoroastrian Persian prose *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* than the ones I have mentioned here.

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[133] Ġaybī thanks Dr. Omidsalar (Umīdsālār) for presenting important points about the subject to him.

[134] I have not seen Rustamji's work myself, though it has been written in the title of his book that he has used the Persian [Zoroastrian] *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* version: Rustamji, Sorabji 1868: *Ardaiviranamu* (*Gujrati rendering of the Persian translation of original Pahlavi text*), Bombay 1844; 2nd ed. 1868 → Gignoux, 1984: 31.

V. Manuscripts

The Iranians were defeated by the Arab Muslims in the year 20 A.Y. (Yazdgirdī)/ 651 A.D., which led to Arab dominance upon Iran. The Muslim rulers' pressure on those Iranians who had not converted to Islam and were adherents of their ancestors' religion Zoroastrianism was increasing more and more. Finally, due to these pressures some of the Iranian Zoroastrians had to escape to India in order to be able to retain the religion of their forefathers (Choksy 1997: 110-137). These Zoroastrians, who nowadays are known as Parsis, have since then lived from generation to generation in India.

There was no connection between the Parsis and the Iranian Zoroastrians until the year 846 A.Y./1477 A.D., and the Iranian Zoroastrians were not even aware of the Parsis in India. The Parsis, who knew about their origin, sent a messenger named Narīmān Hūšang to Iran in the year 847 A.Y./1478 A.D. His duty was to find out more about the religion in order to provide solutions for existing religious conflicts among the Parsis and to study the correct performance of the religious rites (Hodivala 1920: 243-245).

After that time, twenty-six messengers were sent by the Parsis to Iran until the year 1142/1773.[135] Each one of these messengers carried back letters to India, where answers to religious queries, explanations of different rites and ceremonies, the calendar, and the Zoroastrians mythology etc. can be found. Besides these letters, the Iranian Zoroastrians sent some other original books, copies and treatises on the religion to the Parsis. These letters and other works were known as *Rivāyat* and are composed in Avestan, Parsig, Zoroastrian Persian and Pazand. These *Rivāyats* are known by the name of the messenger who carried them to India (ibid.: 343-345).

The sixth messenger of the Parsis, Shapur Āsā, returned from Iran to India in 896/1527. He carried back a letter and also several other important Zoroastrian works in Parsig, Pazand and Zoroastrian Persian, which had been re-written for him as a miscellany in the same year in Yazd. One of these works is the Zoroastrian Persian version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in prose (ibid.: 297-298).

[135] Patel has recorded the number of these messengers to 22 in his list (Patel 1900: 170-182). However, their number is 26, as recorded by Hodivala, West (1896-1904: II. 125-127), Vitalone (1996: 1-21) and some other researchers.

Several manuscripts of Shapur Āsā's full miscellany were copied during the centuries. Some other manuscripts contain only parts of this miscellany, such as the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. These manuscripts are found in different libraries in India and Europe.

Several of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* manuscripts that are mentioned either in scholarly works or in library catalogues have been lost or ruined, and there are no traces of them now. However, all known manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* will be presented in this thesis, both those that have been used for the edition of the text in this thesis and those to which it was impossible to get access.

The manuscripts are listed in chronological order according to their colophon. The three final manuscripts (M, BC^2, L) lack dating and are therefore placed after the others. Every manuscript is here given a code, e.g., N, O, NH, that indicates where it is located or by whom it has been mentioned. If there is another code in brackets for the manuscript [e.g. T.30], this refers to the code in square the catalogue of the library where it is kept, or to the code found in research related to that manuscript.

In order of their antiquity the manuscripts are as follows:

N = Navsari, Dastur Meherji Rana Library, [T.30], 896 A.Y./1527 A.D.

O = Oxford, Bodleian Library, [Bodl.Or.719], 896 A.Y./1527 A.D.[136]

NH = Navsari, Dastur Meherji Rana Library, in Hodivala's study, 901 A.Y./1532 A.D.

U = Belonging to E.M.R. Unvālā, [M], 927+928 A.Y./1558+1559 A.D.

K = Belonging to Kaikhusro J. Jamasp Asa, 954 A.Y./1585 A.D.

P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, [S.P.47], 954 A.Y./1585 A.D.

B = Bombay, Mulla Firuz Library, [105(352)], 1040 A.Y./1671 A.D.

BC = Bombay, Cama Oriental Institute, [R.III.65], 104-[?] A.Y./167-[?] A.D.

N^2 = Navsari, Dastur Meherji Rana Library, [F.44], 1248 A.Y./1879 A.D.

M = München, Staatsbibliothek, [Zend 73'H28'], No date

BC^2 = Bombay, Cama Oriental Institute, [R.III.102], No date

L = London, British Museum Library, [No.830], No date

In the following presentation of the various manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, two manuscripts will be more specifically presented than the others because of their greater importance. The first one is manuscript N, which is found in Shapur Āsā's miscellany, and which seems to be the most ancient manuscript available of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Zoroastrian Persian. The other one is manuscript L, which, for the reason of its style and language, seems to be the last manuscript of the work even though it is not dated. For that reason, a special presentation of manuscripts N and L is given here be-

[136] This manuscript, which appears to be much more recent than the colophon suggests, is copied word for word including the colophon, from the original manuscript N.

low. Contents and other details of these manuscripts are also presented in the full presentation of all manuscripts.

Manuscript N

The miscellany that Shapur Āsā brought with himself from Iran is known by various names: Revāyat of Šāpur Āsā (Vitalone 1987: 9-10), Kama Asā's Revayet (Katrak 1941: 209-210), Revāyat of Kāmā Bohrā or Revāyat of Kāmā Vohrā (Hodivala 1920: 296), Rivāyat of Rāmā Khambāyatī (Haug-West 1872: xix), Kayām-Aldyn Khambāyty (Rehatsek 1873: 178-179) and Revayat of Kama Asa Khambayeti (Dhabhar 1923'c': 118-120).[137] This version, to which the code N has been applied here, is nowadays preserved with the code [T.30], in Meherji Rana's Library.

The scribes of this miscellany have recorded the date 896 A.Y. /1527A.D. as the finishing date of their re-writing in three places, in Pazand (Avestan characters) on folios 106b and 150a, and in Persian characters on folio 148b. Unfortunately, there is no indication of the original manuscript from which N was copied or of its date of completion. The probability of the existence of a manuscript that could have been the basis for N still preserved in Iran is very small, next to impossible. According to Chardin, King 'Abbās I (1581-1629) forced the Zoroastrians to bring the book on the Prophecies of Abraham about the End of the World to him. The Zoroastrians brought him several of their books. However, since the king still did not find this imaginary book by Abraham the prophet, he ordered the execution of the Dastūrān-i dastūr (the highest Zoroastrian authority) and some other religious persons (Chardin 1735: II.179 → Boyce 1987: 181).

Coincident to this event, one of the dastūrs of Kirmān sought refuge from Balkh to Kirmān. Hearing about the gathering of the Zoroastrian books by order of the King 'Abbās I and about the killing of Dastūrān-i dastūr and two mūbads, in fear he concealed 300 volumes of his books in a wall and covered the wall with mud. When Dastūr Kay-Khusrau Kirmānī destroyed the wall in the year 1257 A.Y./1888 A.D., he found that all the books except a small number had perished (Šahmardān 1984: 269). The Iranian Zoroastrians sent many of their valuable manuscripts to the Parsis (ibid: 268), which can be seen as a natural reaction to pressure of the kind described above. Thus, it is likely that the original manuscript of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Zoroastrian Persian, on which Shapur Āsā's version may have been based, is lost forever.

[137] Shapur Āsā's version is known as Khambāyatī, because Shapur Āsā himself was an inhabitant of Cambay (Dhabhar 1909: xix) and one of the narrators was a native of Cambay as well (Katrak 1941: 209).

If the scribes of the miscellany of Shapur Āsā had mentioned the date of the original manuscript, it would maybe have been possible to find out more about the translation date of the Zoroastrian Persian version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and other Zoroastrian Persian works, but unfortunately, there is no information available to reveal when the Zoroastrians began to make use of Zoroastrian Persian for translating and writing their works. In this regard, Molé believes that the Zoroastrians finally decided to use the Persian language at a time which is not totally clear, but at least it should have happened before the Mongolian invasion of Iran (611 A.H./1214 A.D.), because the language is different from that of the Persian Muslims and contains a large number of Parsig words (Molé 1965: 36-37).

Although there is no information available about the time when the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* was translated into Persian, the style of writing, the vocabulary and the grammatical structure of the text can reveal the approximate but not accurate date of the text. Since there are no adequate historical documents available to determine the approximate compilation time of the text, we have to judge this on the basis of prose linguistic standards (Umīdsālār 2006: 8).

Mu'īn states that the style of writing is to some extent similar to the epistolary style of the fourth or fifth centuries A.H./tenth or eleventh centuries A.D. (Mu'īn 1946: 57).[138] Some of the characteristics of the prose texts from the tenth or eleventh centuries A.D. are the abridgement of prefaces, usually limited to a number of short sentences, infrequent use of Arabic words, the non-existence or a limited extent of Islamic influence on the texts, a simple language free from rhyme and literary eloquence, use of ancient Persian words[139] and specific grammatical points (Bahār, M.T. 1991: 2.54-61; Khatībī 1996: 2.124-134).[140] The above-mentioned points are clearly found in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* text. These characteristics indicate that the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* was translated during the tenth or eleventh centuries A.D. and not later than that.

It should not be forgotten that manuscript N, is a re-written text which was copied in the year 896 A.Y./1527 A.D., and it is not known to what extent this fact contributed to changes in the present text in relation to its origin. Some examples of changes are obviously presented in some ortho-

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[138] It is noteworthy that Mu'īn's judgement is based on the introduction of the manuscript M (H28), which was written about 300 years ago, near the end of the seventeenth century (Haug-West 1872: xv). However, about 150 years of interval is not the only difference between the manuscripts M and N. Important changes in the language must have occurred during this time, which are clearly visible in grammatical, stylisitc and lexical changes in the latter manuscript.

[139] To find a complete list of words in use in Persian texts from the fourth century A.H./tenth century A.D., some of which also occur in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, refer to the studies of Muḥammad Taqī Bahār (1991: 1.208-221) and Mu'īn (1955: 342-390).

[140] Refer to Umīdsālār's research (2006: 9-12) about grammatical rules in Zoroastrian Persian works composed before the sixth century A.H./twelfth century A.D.

graphic rules of the text. In this manuscript, the preverb *bi-* is sometimes separated from the verb and written «به», e.g. in «به‌کرده» *bi-karda* (142b) and «به‌گویی» *bi-gūyī* (143b). In the same manner, the negating particle *na-* is sometimes written separated from the verb «نه», e.g. as in «نه‌یشته‌اند» *na-yašta-and* (141a) and «نه‌کنند» *na-kunand* (148a). These spellings were used before the sixth century A.H./twelveth century A.D. (Umīdsālār 2006: 10-11). The letter «ی» is occasionally written for the *kasra-yi iżāfa*, in manuscript N as well: «چیزی» *čīzī* instead of «چیزِ» *čīz-i* (139b) and «جایگاهی» *jāygāhī* instead of «جایگاهِ» *jāygāh-i* (145b). This spelling is one of the characteristics of works written during Firdausī's time, the fourth century A.H./tenth century A.D. and one or two centuries afterwards (Qarīb 1996: 367). Frequent use of connectives like «و» *va* "and" is another indication for the antiquity of the text and the translator's faithfulness to the original Parsig text.[141] This means that at that time, the translation of Parsig works was still done mechanically and that New Persian rules for the connective *va* were not applied in translation. These stylistically unmotivated connectives are omitted in the other manuscripts, among them manuscript M (H28), which has changed the style of the text to some extent.

These writing rules are evidence indicating that the text of the Zoroastrian Persian version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* belongs to the tenth or eleventh century A.D. These rules are, however, observed just in some cases in manuscript N rewritten for Shāpūr Asa in 896 A.Y./1527 A.D. The reason for the variety of rules in this manuscript is obviously that this text was re-written at a time when there were no traces of the rules left in Zoroastrian Persian works written later. An example of this is an Iranian Zoroastrian's letter written in the year 928 A.Y./1559 A.D., that is 32 years after Shāpūr Asa's version was re-written. This letter (S.P.46: 17a-18a), contrary to the Zoroastrian Persian version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, both has a long introduction and contains a considerable amount of Islamic influence. There are many Arabic words in it, the style is both elegant and rhyming, and ancient Persian words are few here. There are likewise no traces of old orthographic conventions for *bi-, na-* and the *kasra-yi iżāfa*, and there is no superfluous use of *va*.

Manuscript N includes two tables of contents, of which the first one (fol. 01, 06-09)[142] looks very old and decayed in the microfilm. The title of the collection is given at the top of the list as: [143]«فهرست روایت ایرانی» *fihrist-i rivāyat-i īrānī* (Table of Contents of the Iranian Narrative). This table is not complete. It seems that the table is the original one, but just as the margin of this remaining part of the list is decayed and torn, the rest is ruined as well.

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[141] Bahār finds that the conjunction *va* «و» is in use abundantly in Pahlavi (Parsig) manuscripts, but when it is necessary it is sometimes missing in the texts. (Bahār 1990: 17).

[142] There are no traces of folio numbers in any of the tables of contents of manuscript N.

[143] Originally «فرست» *firist*.

The second table (fol. 1b-4a) is written in a handwriting different from the first table and the other works in the manuscript. The title of the collection is here[144] «فهرست روایت ایرانی بابت آورده بهدین کاما آسا کمبایتی» *Fihrist-i rivāyat-i īrānī bābat āvarda bihdīn Kāmā Āsā Kumbāytī* (Table of Contents of the Iranian Narrative Brought by the Righteous Kāmā Āsā Kombāytī). Since this list was written and added to the collection later, it is a complete table of contents for the whole collection.

Manuscript L

There is also a manuscript in the British museum library (formerly India Office Library, with (No.803) of the prose version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Zoroastrian Persian.

Manuscript L, like all manuscripts, has its defects and advantages. Firstly, some words are written by mistake. It is interesting that these mistakes originate both in the copying of the text (in writing) and in hearing when someone reads the text and the copyist writes it down. Mistakes due to hearing the text may be, among others, «ایستادن» *īstādan* for «ایستادند» *īstādand*, «گفتند» *guftand* for «گفتم» *guftam*, «پرسیدند» *pursīdand* for «پرسیدم» *pursīdam*, and «اسفندارمرز» *isfandārmarz* for «اسفندارمذ» *isfandārmaż*. Among mistakes due to read/written copying, are «چشم اند» *čašm-and* for «چشم آمد» *čašm āmad*, «همانروز» *hamān rūz* for «همازور» *hamāzūr*, «ناز میکردند» *nāz mīkardand* for «باز میگردیدند» *bāz mīgardīdand* and «زنگی و حبشی» *zangī va ḥabašī* for «رنگی و جنسی» *rangī va jinsī* as well. Furthermore, some sentences are in a complete disorder, for example in folios 6a, 11b, 13a and 18b.

The most important characteristic of this manuscript is that it is concise, and whenever something appears important to the scribe, he just records that and avoids more explanations about the matter. Therefore omissions are frequent in L. Maybe these omissions and mistakes were already there in the mother manuscript. Of course, the abridgement of the text, as it had been said earlier, is a defect of this manuscript. To abbreviate a text may not be in agreement with the responsibility of the scribe and may cause misunderstandings, but abbreviating a text could also be an advantage, since in some cases it may diminish complications in the text. Therefore, the abridgement of the text can be seen as one of the positive aspects of manuscript L as well.

It must be emphasized at this point that although the rule of 'lectio brevior praeferenda est' or 'brevior lectio potior' (the abridged form is more acceptable) (Epp-Fee 1993: 14-15) is applicable in many cases, this principle is unacceptable as regards manuscript L. The version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in manuscript L is not abridged in the meaning of its being more authentic

[144] Originally «فهرست روایت ایرانی بابت آورده بهدین کاماس آسا کهنبایتی» *Fihrist-i rivāyat-i īrānī bābat āvarda bihdīn Kāmās Āsā Kuhanbāytī.*

and devoid of the later additions. The abridgements here consist of eliminated sentences that the scribe found unnecessary. Meanwhile, manuscript L also has a newer language style in addition to the abridgements. Hence, some of the ancient words have either been deleted or changed into more modern synonyms.

There are several precendent examples of reducing explanations in a text and representing it in an abridged form in Zoroastiran Persian's literature. For example, in addition to several translated texts of the *Minū-xirad* in Zoroastrian Persian either versified or prose, there is an abridged version called the *Minū-xirad, rivāyat-i dīgar,* which is about one quarter of the original text (M52.'Haug7': 71a-78b). In addition to this, there are many examples of abridgements in Classical New Persian literature, the most famous being abridged versions of the *Baxtiyār Nāma*, the *Dārāb Nāma* and the *Abū-Muslim Nāma*.

Another great advantage or even the most important advantage of the Manuscript L is its episodes. This is the only manuscript of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* that is divided into several episodes, and the scribe has chosen a suitable heading related to the main subject of each episode. The headings are written in coloured ink at the beginning of each episode.

The epithet Anūšīrvān [Anūsa-Ravān] is another notable characteristic of manuscript L in the second heading of the text: «آغاز داستان ویراف نامه و قصهٔ شاه اردشیر بابکان انوشیروان» *Āġāz-i dāstān-i Vīrāf-Nāma va qiṣṣa-yi šāh-Ardašīr-i Bābakān-i Anūšīrvān* (The Beginnig of story of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and the tale of king Ardašīr-i Bābakān-i Anūšīrvān).

Since Anūšīrvān [Anūsa-ravān][145] is an epithet of Xusrau I (531-579), one of the Sasanid kings, it has been supposed that wherever the epithet *anūšīrvān* has been used, the intention is this very Xusrau I, whereas *anūšīrvān* in the meaning of 'deceased'[146] is an epithet also used for Ardašīr-i Bābakān. But since Ardašīr has not been mentioned anywhere as Ardašīr-i Bābakān-i Anūšīrvān in historical documents, nobody has paid enough attention to the matter that *anūšīrvān* sometimes may refer to Ardašīr-i Bābakān. For example, Ibn-i Nadīm in his famous book, *Al-Fihrist*, has mentioned two books about adventures and stories of Iranian kings, and both the books have *anūširvān* in the titles. The first one is «كتاب الكارنامج فى سيره انوشروان» *Kitāb ul-kārnāmaj fī sīrat-i Anūširvān* and the other one «كتاب انوشروان» *Kitāb-i*

[145] Variants of *Anūšīrvān* are *Anūširvān* and *Anūsa-ravān*.

[146] "Middle Persian Anōshagruwān- in New Persian [A]nōshēruwān (with the usual *-ēr* from *-agr*, as in NP. *dēr*, "late", from MP. *dagr*) or, by popular etymology, [A]nōshīn-ruwān, "whose soul is sweet"– means literally "whose soul is immortal", but it is commonly used in Middle Persian as a euphemism for "deceased". It is thus likely that the epithet was not applied to Khusrōy I until after his death (c.f. Chr. Bartholomae, *Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten III*, Heidelberg 1920 p. 9 n. 2). However, it is frequently used as a name for Khusrōy I both in Middle Persian and Arabic texts" (de Blois 1990: 96). Anaušīrvān / Anaušīrvān or Anauša-ravān (Parsig: anōšagruwān) means the late, deceased (MacKenzie 1990: 10).

Anūširvān (Ibn-i Nadīm 1871: 305). The first title must be the same the *Kār-nāmag ī ardašīr ī pābagān*. The word *anūširvān* in this title has been assumed to be a mistake due to carelessness of the scribes re-writing Ardašīr as Anūširvān (Muḥammadī 1995: 173; Muḥammadī 2001: 221), but that seems rather unlikely and the more likely explanation is that this epithet is here applied to Ardašīr. Tafaẓẓulī believes that perhaps these two books were one and the same, and that the second title is an abbreviation of the first one (Tafaẓẓulī 1997: 222). Anyway, the adjective Anūšīrvān added to the title of the first book which Ibn-i Nadīm has mentioned strengthens the argument for the correctness of Ardašīr-i Bābakān-i Anūšīrvān. Manuscript L is the only place where the name is found as Ardašīr-i Bābakān-i Anūšīrvān (Anūša-ravān). This is another point worth noting in this manuscript.

The abbreviated character of the text of manuscript L makes it less useful as a basis for correcting and editing the text. Here manuscript L was used together with the other manuscripts in the first steps of the editing, but since it turned out to be an unreasonable amount of instances where asterisks (*) and footnotes would have to be added for omissions in manuscript L, this manuscript was later considered less useful for editing the text.

The fate of a possible original manuscript from which manuscript L has been copied is unknown. Maybe all the existing changes in manuscript L originate from such a mother manuscript. It is also possible that all these changes are innovations by the scribe of L and that this manuscript should be regarded as a new and last version of the Zoroastrian Persian *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*.

Presentation of manuscripts

N = NAVSARI, DASTUR MEHERJI RANA [T.30] (896 A.Y.)[147]

Cat. Dhabhar, B.N.: *Ṣaddar Naṯr and Ṣaddar Bundehesh*, pp. xix-xx; also Dhabhar: Descriptive Catalogue of all Manuscripts in the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library Navsari, pp.118-120. No. T.30; also Katrak: Oriental Treasures being Condensed Tabular Descriptive Statement of over a thousand Manuscripts and of their Colophons written in Iranian & Indian Languages and lying in private libraries of Parsis in different Centres of Gujarat, pp. 209-210.

Contents:

I The following subjects (5a-105b) are all given in Zand characters:

1. 01. Old contents (in Zoroastrian Persian)
2. 02-05. Persian verses by differents poets

[147] The format of the presentation of the manuscripts is based on the method used by Bo Utas in his treatise on the *Ṭarīq ut-taḥqīq* (1973: 11-40).

3. 06-09. Old contents (incorrect in Zoroastrian Persian)
4. 1b-4a. New contents (in Zoroastrian Persian)
5. Letters from Iran to the Dasturs and Behdins of Navsari *viz.*, to Ervad Rana bin Hoshang (changed correctly, in a late hand, to Jesang), Mehryar bin Dhahyon, Ervad Chanda bin Pahlon, Ervad Behram bin Pahlon, *Dehyoved* Behdin Maneck bin Changa, Behdin Asa bin Vahram, Behdin Dhahyon bin Changa etc.; and to the Mobeds and Behdins of Cambay, *viz*., Ervad Shapur bin Hira, Ervad Asa bin Neryosang, Ervad Jiva bin Khorshed, Behdin Nakhva bin Asa, Behdin Bahman Shyavax kayomuddin bin Asa, Behdin Shyavax bin Chanda, Behdin Limbai bin Kamdin, etc.
6. 33 hunars of the Pairāmun Hāvan.
7. Barsam rods to be used in the Yasna ritual.
8. 15 characteristics (*hunar*) of the Ervads.
9. How is the Yasna in the Panji-i Veh (i.e. the last 5 Gatha days) to be performed? In what manner should the Barsom be tied and what is the Khshnuman?
10. The Lenghts of the different Gāhs.
11. How is the Rapithwan Gāh to be reckoned?
12. Consecration of the Gahanbar in the Panji and the Zand of Afringan-i Gahanbar.
13. Ceremonial paring of nails.
14. How to consecrate the Nirangdin (*nirang av va gomez yashtan*).
15. How to pass the days of the Bareshnum period.
16. How is the Bareshnum vitiated?
17. How should the Barshnumgāh be prepared?
18. Plan of the Barshnumgāh (f. 42).
19. *Avesta* to be recited during each Gāh – with Nām-Setayashn in full.
20. How should the parental property be divided among children?
21. Consecration of the Rapithwan Yasna.
22. Afringān-i Rapithwan.
23. The Ahunvars to be recited in the different Yasna rituals.
24. Contact with Nasu – how treated.
25. Who is a *Chakarzan*?
26. Eating chatteringly.
27. Pādshāh zan, Chakar zan, Ayok zan.
28. A man has a *Pādshāh zan*, has no issue, but leaves some brothers and relatives: To whom should his property go after his death?
29. Afrin-i Zartosht.
30. What should be done on the 4^{th}, 10^{th} and 30^{th} day and every day of the month, after a man's death? The Khshnuman of the Sirozas.
31. The five larger Gāhs.
32. The 11^{th} fargard of the Vendidad with explanation.

Colophon (f. 99-101): Written by Shehryār Ardeshir Erach Rustom Erach in consultation with Giv for the Parsees of India at the instance of Dastur Shehryār Rustom and others and completed on day Depadar, month Behman, A.Y. 896.[148]

33. 106a. Blank.
34. 106b-107a is lost.

II The following subjects (107b-242a) are all given in Zoroastrian Persian:

35. 107b-110a. Maʻnī-yi Ašam-vuhū.
36. 110a-110b. Xūršīd-Niyāyiš.
37. 110b-114a. Mīnū-xirad, *rivāyat* -i dīgar.
38. 114a-116a. Nām-i bīst u yak nask.
39. 116a-117a. Rūz-i xwardād māh-i farvardīn.
40. 117a-117b. [Haft āfarīda-yi Jamšīd].
41. 117b-121b. ʻUlamā-yi islām.
42. 121b-123a. Haft sitārigān bar āsimān.
43. 123a-124b. Ṣad u yak nām-i īzad.
44. 124b-131a. Maʻnī-yi yatā-ahū.
45. 131a-135b. Dāstān-i nūšīrvān-i ʻādil (Farrux-Nāma-yi Yūnān Dastūr).
46. 135b-137a. Dāstān-i marġūzan-i anūšīrvān (incorrect).
47. 137b. Blank.
48. 138a-138b. Maʻnī va zand-i Ašam-vuhū.
49. 138b-148b. Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma.

Beginning:

سپاس دارم ایزدی را که ما را بیافرید جنانک...

Colophon :

تمامت الکتاب ویرافنامه از تاریخ دوم مرداد ماه قدیم سنه ۸۹۶

50. 149a-150a. Nāma-yi zarduštiyān ba pārsiyān (in Zoroastrian Persian and Parsig)
51. 150b. Blank.
52. 151a. [Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma] (in half page; repetition of the above text).
53. 151a-183a. Šāyist nā-šāyist.
54. 183b-184a. Mār Nāma (in verse).
55. 184b. Blank.
56. 185a-186a. Farrux-Nāma-yi Yūnān Dastūr (incorrect).
57. 186a-187b. Dāstān-i marġūzan-i anūšīrvān (incorrect).
58. 187b-192b. Aḥkām-i Jāmāsp (incorrect).
59. 193a. Blank.
60. 193b-212a. Ṣad dar-i naẕm.
61. 212a-218b. Pursiš u pāsux.
62. 219a. Asāmī-yi bihdīnān-i Īrān (in Parsig).

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[148] The description of Nos. 5-32 is quoted *verbatim* from Dhabhar 1923‘c’: 118-119. The transcription of names in Dhabhar’s list of contents is retained.

63. 219b-228b. Pursiš u pāsux.
64. 228b-232b. Ṣad dar-i naṯr (incorrect).
65. 233a-237a. Aḥkām-i Jāmāsp.
66. 237a-238b. Suxanī čand dīgar az aḥkām-i Jāmāsp.
67. 239a-242a. Patat-i īrānī.

Date: 896 A.Y./1527 A.D. (fol. 106b) in Pazand, (148b) in Zoroastrian Persian, (fol. 150a) in Pazand.

Scribe: Šahriyār Ardašīr Īraj Rustam Īraj (fol. 98b); Gīv Ispandiyār Gīv (fol. 144b) (in Pazand).

Description: "Half-bound in strong covers; ff. 102 marked in Arabic [correctly: English] as well as Gujarati numerals (of which f. 78b and f. 102 are blank), written generally 17ll. to page, + ff. 103 to 257 marked in Gujarati numerals (of which f. 133b and f. 146b are blank; f. 168 is marked twice; f. 188a is blank; f. 197 left unmarked, although there is no gap in the writing; f. 208 marked twice and the folio aftr 227 is wrogly marked f. 248, etc. up to end), generally written 25ll. to page. 8".5x6".2." (Dhabhar 1923'c': 120).

Manuscript N (T.30) is written in a relatively fine nasta'līq until folio 138b, but from folios 139a to 232 the text is in a rather bad nasta'līq, and thereafter it is written in a handwriting different from that in folios 233a to 242a.

The folios of this manuscript are numbered in both Gujarati and English, but the Gujarati numbers cannot be seen clearly in the microfilm. Furthermore, some numbers have disappeared, since the margin of the folios is putrefied. Both the Gujarati and English numberings are written on the verso side of the folios, in the right corner, not on the recto side. However, this type of numbering is not specific for only this manuscript. There is a *Yasna* manuscript in the Carolina Rediviva Library in Uppsala (MS. Onova 741), where the number of the folios is written on the verso side of the page as well.

Orthography: The Persian letter «پ» *p* is sometimes written as «ب» *b* and occasionally as «پ» *p*; the letter «چ» *č* as «ج» *j* and «چ» *č*; the letter «ژ» *ž* often as «ژ» *ž* but sometimes as «ز» *z*; and the letter «گ» *g* sometimes as «ک» *k* and occasionally as «گ» *g*. The vowel «آ» *ā* is sometimes written as «ا» *a* and sometimes as «آ» *ā*.

There is no consistent rule for the writing of compound words. For example, «تن‌درست» *tan-durust* is written as two detached words and «یکگام» *yakgām* is written in an adjoined word.

The preposition «به» *ba* is sometimes detached as in «به بستر» *ba bastar*, but it is sometimes adjoined as in «بپادشاهی» *ba-pādšāhī*.

The demonstratives *īn* and *ān* are sometimes written separately «آن جهان» *ān jahān*, sometimes attached to the noun «بدانجهان» *bidān-jahān* is written in an adjoined form.

The letter «هـ» *h* is normally omitted in plural forms both when it represents *h* as in «گروه» *gurūh* and the short vowel *a* as in «کرفه» *karfa*. They are

written «گروها» *gurūh-hā* and «کرفها» *karfa-hā* in their plural form. Occasionally the «هـ» *h* is found also in the plural, e.g. «اندوهها» *andūh-hā*.

The Arabic plural nouns are again pluralized in some cases: «احوالها» *aḥvāl-hā*.

The «ء» *hamza*/reduced *y* at the end of some words is used for the *kasra-yi iẓāfa*, e.g. in «مانندة» *mānanda-yi*, «کرفهاء» *karfa-hā-yi*, and occasionally as the second person singular verb ending -*ī*, as in «نهادة» *nahāda*-yi (= «نهاده-ای»). However, this ending -*ī* is also written «ای» in some cases, as in «نکرده-ای» *nakarda-yī*.

The third person plural copula «اند» -*and* is sometimes written adjoined as in «مردمانند» *mardumān-and*, but is sometimes found detached as in «قوم‌اند» *qaum-and*.

The «الفِ» *alif* of the third person singular copula «است» *ast* is missing in some instances, e.g. «راستست» *rāst-ast*, «نیکست» *nīk-ast*, «جایگاهست» *jaygāh-ast* and so on.

To form the compounds of the preposition «از» *az* with the pronouns like as «ایشان» *īšān*, «او» *ū*, «این» *īn*, and so on, the «الفِ» *alif* of the pronoun is omitted as in «ازیشان» *azīšān*, «ازو» *azū*, «ازین» *azīn*.

Short vowels and *tašdīd* are not written.

Note: The microfilm that I have of manuscript N (T.30) contains the old and new lists of contents (01-4a), plus the second part of the manuscript, namely the works written in Zoroastrian Persian.

Contents of the first part of the manuscript which is written in Pazand, has been re-written here from Dhabhar's catalogue (1923'c': 118-119).[149]

O = OXFORD, BODLEIAN [Bodl.Or. 719] (896 A.Y.)

Cat. Sachau, Ed. and Ethé, Hermann: Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindūstānī, and Pashtū Manuscripts ih the Bodleian Library, I, pp. 112-113, No. 1950 [Bodl. Or. 719]; also Unvālā, J.M.: Collection of Colophons of Manuscripts Bearing on Zoroastrianism in some Libraries of Europe, p. 120.

Contents:

1. 1b-29a. Ardāyī-Vīrāf-i naṯr.

Title (fol. 1b):

اردای ویراف نثر

Beginning:

سپاس دارم ایزدی را که ما را بیافرید. . .

Colophon (fol. 29a):

تمامت الکتاب ویرافـنامه از تاریخ دوم مردادماه قدیم سنه ۸۹۶ تمت تم

Date. 896 A.Y./1527 A.D.

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[149] Mrs. Shernaz Cama and Mr. Raham Aša helped me to obtain the microfilms of both N (T.30) and N^2 (F.44) manscripts. I give my thanks to them and to the librarians of the Meherji Rana Library as well.

Scribe. Not named.

Description. 25.8x10.3cm., 29 folios, 13 lines, fine nasta‘līq, a few names are written in coloured ink, the folios are not numbered. However, there is a Latin number on every fifth folio on the recto side of the folio (5, 10, 15 etc.).

Orthography. The orthography of manuscript O is mainly like manuscript N, but with small differences.

The letter «پ» *p* is often written as «ب» *b* and occasionally as «پ» *p*; the letter «چ» *č* as «ج» *j* and occasionally as «چ» *č*; the letter «ژ» *ž* often as «ژ» *ž* but sometimes as «ز» *z*; and the letter «گ» *g* is written as «ک» *k*. «آ» *ā* sometimes written as «ا» *a* and sometimes as «آ» *ā*. Vowels and *tašdīd* are not written.

The preposition «به» *ba* is sometimes adjoined as in «بروزی» ba-rūzī, but it is sometimes detached as in «به جایگاهها» ba jāygāh-hā.

Some words are found in two forms. For example «کروطامن» *garūṭāmn* and «کروتمان» *garūtmān*, «زفان» *zafān* and «زبان» *zabān*.

Note: Manuscript O is copied word by word from the manuscript N, and almost all the mistakes in O are entirely the same as in N. Even their colophons, that is 896 A.Y./1527 A.D., are the same. Thus, manuscript O was probably not necessary for the text editing process. However, since some words are not clearly readable due to the paper putrefying or to the quality of the microfilm, manuscript O was useful to supply unclear words in some cases.[150]

NH = NAVSARI, DASTUR MEHERJI RANA (901 A.Y.)

Cat. Hodivala, Sh.H.H.: *Studies in Parsi History*, pp. 301-302.

The manuscript NH is mentioned in Hodivala’s study *Studies in Parsi History*. Thus, it is marked with the code NH here. Manuscript NH has been copied from the manuscript N in 901 A.Y./1532 A.D. Hodivala is the only one who has mentioned this manuscript. The single specification of this manuscript which Hodivala gives is that it contains both the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and a section called *Pursiš u pāsux*. He states that the manuscript was kept in Meherji Rana Library in Navsari at that time, but he gives no number or code of it (Hodivala 1920: 301-302). However, there is no such manuscript in the Meherji Rana Library Catalogue, which was written by Dhabhar in 1923, so it seems that it must have been lost.

U = BELONGING TO E.M.R. UNVĀLĀ [M] (927+928 A.Y.)

Cat. Dhabhar, E.B.N.: *Ṣaddar Naṯr and Ṣaddar Bundehesh*, p. xx.

Dhabhar has profited from several manuscripts to edit both *Ṣaddar Naṯr and Ṣaddar Bundehesh*. Manuscript U is among the manuscripts used by

[150] Mr. Homayoun Katouzian ordered the microfilm O (Bodl.Or.719) for me from the Bodleian Library, and sent it as a gift to me. I give my very best thanks to him.

Dhabhar and is marked by the code M. Dhabhar writes that this manuscript belongs to Ervad Maneckji Rustamji Unvālā, and it was copied word by word from Shapur Āsā's manuscript in 927 A.Y./1558 A.D. in Navsari. He adds that the colophon date for the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, which is part of this manuscript, is 928 A.Y./1559 A.D. This manuscript has 191 folios of 23 lines each, but since the last folio is missing, the scribe's name is unknown (Dhabhar 1909: xx). This is all the available information about this manuscript. There is no trace of it nowadays, because it is not known to whom Rustamji Unvālā gave his library or what he did with this manuscript.

K = BELONGING TO KAIKHUSRO J. JAMASP ASA (954 A.Y.)

Cat. Dhabhar, E.B.N.: *Ṣaddar Naṯr and Ṣaddar Bundehesh*, p. xxi.

Manuscript K is one of the other manuscripts that were used by Dhabhar to edit *Ṣaddar Naṯr and Ṣaddar Bundehesh*. This manuscript belonged to Dastur Kaikhusro Jamaspji Jamasp Asa. According to Dhabhar, this manuscript has strong resemblance to the Yazd manuscript (Shapur Āsā's manuscript) and was rewritten by Ervad Behram b. Kekobād b. Hamajyār b. Padam b. Kāmā in Navsari in the year 954A.Y./1585 A.D. This manuscript consists of 106 folios but is lacking several folios (Dhabhar 1909: xxi). The fate of this manuscript is also unknown.

B = BOMBAY, MULLA FIRUZ [105(352)] (1040 A.Y.)

Cat. Dhabhar: Descriptive Catalogue of some Manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism and Pertaining to the Different Collections in the Mulla Feroze Library, No. 105 (352); also Rehatsek: Catalogue Raisonné of the Arabic, Hindostani, Persian and Turkish MSS. In the Mulla Firuz Library, No. VIII.2; also Dhabhar: The K.R. cama Oriental Institute Catalogue, No. 240.

Contents:

1. "Commentary on Ashem Vohu.
2. Explantaion of the Khorshed Nyāish (from *dushmatāchā* upto *Urvaesējasō*).
3. Ahunvars to be recited, and number of Barsam twigs to be used, in various Yasna ceremonies.
4. When is Bareshnum said to be '*durust*' (firm) and when '*shikaste*' (vitiated.) ?
5. Length of the different *gāhs*.
6. Minokherad (in prose) ff. 5 to 10.
7. 21 nasks described, ff. 10-13.
8. Day Khordād of the Farvardin month, ff. 13-15.
9. Seven wonderful things invented by Jamshed in Pars.
10. Olmā-i Islam (ff. 15-22).
11. The planets

12. Ahunvar and 101 names of God with explanation and a long commentary on the Ahunvar, dilating on the unity and the compassion of Ahura Mazda and on good and bad deeds (ff. 23-39).
13. Description of the Fire-temple Adar-Gushid of Noshirvan -visit of Abulkher Amary to the Fire-temple- his interview with Ramesh-ārām, the custodian of the Temple description of the Farrokh-Nāeh with had been written by Yunān Dastur for Noshirvan (ff. 39-46).
14. Khalif Māmūn's intention of destroying Noshirvan's palace at Madāin – his visit to the palace on seeing which he withdrew his resolve- the Khalif's visit to the *marguzan* (tomb) of Noshirvan (ff. 46-49).
15. Meaning of *khshnaothra-ashem-fravarānē* with the *gāhs-Bāj-i Ormazd-Yathā ahu vairyo zaotā-Yenghē hātām* and *Yasnemeha* (in verse, ff. 49-50).
16. Ardai Viraf (in prose, ff. 50-68).
17. Letter brought by Kamdin Khambaiti from Iran to the Dasturs and Behdins of India, among whom are mentioned Rana Hoshang [Jesang], Maneck Changa, etc. Letter written by Giv Asfandyar Giv and completed on day Tir, month Bahman, A.Y. 896 (ff. 68-69).
18. Shāyast nā shāyast or Saddar Bundehesh (ff. 69-115).
19. Mār-nāmeh (in verse, f. 116).
20. Saddar Nazm (ff. 117-153).
21. Ahkām-i Jamasp (in prose, ff. 154-163).
22. Pursesh-Pasokh (ff. 163-200).
23. Patet Irani (ff. 200-205)

Date: on day Asman, month Tir, A.Y. 1040, with the additional remarks that the owner was Mobed Kaus Dastur Rustom [see Rehatsek, VIII.2].

Scribe: Completed by Herbad Khorshed bin Asfandyar bin Rustnm bin Khorshed.

Description: 10.2"x7.3". Strongly bound in brown leather; country made paper; ff. 205 (marked in Arabic numerals), written 17 ll. to the page; perforated by worms" (Dhabhar 1923'a': 71-72).[151]

Note: Since, I have never seen manuscript B, the table of contents of that manuscript is given according to the Mulla Firuz's Library Catalogue (Dhabhar 1923'a': 71-72). The table of contents was not recorded accurately in Rehatsek's catalogue (1873) where the manuscript was presented for the first time.

P = PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, Suppl. Pers. 47 (954 A.Y.)

Cat. Blochet, E.: Catalogue des Manuscrits Mazdéens (zends, pehlvis, parsis et persans) de la Bibliothèque Nationale, No. LXVII suppl. Pers. 47; also Blochet, E.: Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Tome Premier, pp.168-170, Supplément d'Anquetil 15 – Supplément 47;

[151] The transcription of names in Dhabhar's list of contents is retained.

Unvālā, J.M.: Collection of Colophons of Manuscripts Bearing on Zoroastrianism in some Libraries of Europe, pp. 18-19; Āmūzgār-Yigāna, J.: Etudes sur la langue et la littérature mazdéenne en persan, p. 64 (theses; unpublished); Āmūzgār, Žāla: Adabiyyāt-i zarduštī ba zabān-i fārsī, p. 199.

Contents:

1. 1a-3a. Blank.
2. 1a-4b. [Ašam vuhū]. In Parsig charcters and commentary in the Zoroastrian Persian.
3. 4b-6a. [Xūršīd-Nyāyiš]. In Parsig and Zoroastrian Persian.
4. 6b-6-b. [Barašnūm-i nān]. In Zoroastrian Persian.
5. 6b-10b. [Mīnū-Xirad, rivāyat-i dīgar]. In Zoroastrian Persian.
6. 10b-12b. [Bīst ū yak nask-i Avistā]. In Zoroastrian Persian.
7. 12b-13b. [Māh-i farvardīn va rūz-i xūrdād]. In Zoroastrian Persian.
8. 13b-13b. [Haft sāxta-yi šigift-i Jamšīd andar Pārs]. In Zoroastrian Persian. (incorrect).
9. 14a-19b. [Blank].
10. 20a-31b. [Ma‘nī va šarḥ-i 101 nām-i xudā]. In Parsig charcters and commentary in the Zoroastrian Persian. (incorrect).
11. 31b-37a. [Farrux-Nāma-yi Yūnān-Dastūr]. In Zoroastrian Persian.
12. 37a-39a. Dāstān-i marġūzan-i Anūšīrvān. In Zoroastrian Persian.
13. 39b-40b. Ma‘nī va zand-i vaxšanϑa- vaϑra-, Ašam vuhū va Panj-gāh. In Zoroastrian Persian, (in verse), mutaqārib-i muṯamman-i maḥżūf/maqṣūr. Unknown poet.
14. 41a-54a. Kitāb-i Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma.

Beginning:

کتاب اردای‌ویرافـنامه. سپاس دارم ایزدی را که ما را بیافرید...

Colophon (fol. 44a):

تمامت الکتاب ویرافـنامه از تاریخ نخستین خوردادماه قدیم رسید

15. 54a-55a.[Nāma-yi zarduštiyān-i Īrān ba dastūrān-i hindūstān]. In Parsig and Zoroastrian Persian.
16. 55b-89a. [Ṣad dar-i Bundahiš]. In Zoroastrian Persian.
17. 89b-95a. Kitāb-i Jāmāspī. In Zoroastrian Persian.
18. 95a-96a. Suxan-ī čand dīgar az aḥkām-i Jāmāsp. In Zoroastrian Persian.
19. 96b-105a. [čand faṣl az šāyist va nāšāyist]. In Zoroastrian Persian.
20. 105a-117b. Vajarī čand az dīn-i bih-i mazdayasnān. In Zoroastrian Persian.
21. 117b-122a. [Qavānīn-i dīnī, az bāb-i 74 tā bāb-i 91]. In Zoroastrian Persian.
22. 122b. [Blank].
23. 123a- 126a. [Qavānīn-i dīnī]. In the Pazand, Parsig and Zoroastrian Persian.
24. 126b-126b. Mubārak ābān-māh-i farrux farvardīn. In the Pazand.

25. 127a-158b [missing].
26. 159a-159b. [Pādafrah-i margarzān]. In the Pazand, Parsig and Zoroastrian Persian.
27. 159b-160a. [Šustan-i nasā]. In the Pazand.
28. 160b-163b. [Rivāyat]. In the Pazand and Zoroastrian Persian.
29. 163b-168a. [Gāhanbār]. In the Pazand, from the *Yasna*.
30. 168a-169b. [Gāhanbār]. In the Pazand, from *Vīdēvdād*.
31. 170a-181a. Rivāyat. Nāma-yi zarduštiyān-i Īrān ba pārsiyān. In the Pazand.
32. 181b-208a. [Qavānīn-i dīnī]. In the Pazand.

Date. 954 A.Y./1585 A.D.[152]

Scribe. Burzū Qavām-ud-dīn ibn-i Kayqubād ibn-i Hurmazyār, laqab Sanjānān (fol. 126b and 206a).

Description. 25.2x14.6cm., 208 folios (fol. 127a-158b missing), 21 lines, Indian nasta'līq; very damaged manuscript which was repaired in most folios, names of people, angels and cosmic phenomena in colour; recto sides with Latin numbers and verso sides with Gujarati numbers, both in the top corner.

Orthography. The letter «پ» *p* is generally written «ب» *b*, but sometimes «پ» *p*, e.g. «پادشاه» *pādšāh*; «چ» *č* is generally written as «ج» *j* and occasionally as «چ» *č*; the letter «ژ» *ž* always as «ژ» *ž* and the letter «گ» *g* is always as «ک» *k*. «آ» *ā* sometimes as «ا» *a* and sometimes as «آ» *ā*. Vowels and tašdīd are not written.

Kasra-yi iżāfa is somtimes written as «ی», for example «چاهِ سیاهی» *čāh-i siyāhī* is written «چاهی سیاهی» *čāhī siyāhī*.

The prefix «ب» is in general written separately, e.g. «به یشتند» *ba-yaštand*.

The word «میگزیدند» *mīgazīdand* is written «میگژیدند» *mīgažīdand*.

Note: According to Unvālā's writings, Anquetil calls manuscript P 'the Old Rivāyet'. Unvālā himself writes that this manuscript was probably copied in the year 954 A.Y./1585 A.D. from the manuscript which Shapur Kāmā Āsā had carried from Iran in 866 A.Y. [correctly: 896] (Unvālā 1940: 18).[153]

BC = BOMBAY, CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE [R.III.65] (104-[?] A.Y.)

Cat. Dhabhar: The K.R. cama Oriental Institute Catalogue, No. 65.

Contents:

"Ardai Virāf Nāmeh (Persian)

This MS. is imperfect, as many folios are missing. There are in all 48 folios (unnumbered) but the first 2 folios are lost, then after 2 folios, one more

[152] It seems that this manuscript is a copy made in 954 A.Y./1585 A.D. from the copy of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* which was brought by Kama Asa from Persia (Unvālā 1940: 18).

[153] I give my thanks to Mr. Nasser Pakdaman, who ordered the microfilm P (S.P.47) for me from the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.

is lost, and then again, after 25 more folios, 2 folios are lost and of the remaining 16 folios portions of the last two are torn away.

Date: on day Depdin, month Dae, A.Y. 104-(? portion torn off).

Scribe: Completed by Herbad Khorshed bin Asfandyar bin Rustam bin Khorshed

Description: 11"x6.4". Loose folios; damaged by damp and worms; ll. 15 to the page; country made paper" (Dhabhar 1923'b': 149-150).

Note: The manuscript BC is an incomplete manuscript of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* which is just presented in the Cama's Institute Catalogue. Dhabhar has described this manuscript with the details given above.

N^2 = NAVSARI, DASTUR MEHERJI RANA [F.44] (1248 A.Y.)

Cat. Dhabhar: Descriptive Catalogue of all Manuscripts in the First Dastur Meherji Rana Library Navsari, pp.25-26, No. F.44; also Dhabhar: *Ṣaddar Naṯr and Ṣaddar Bundehesh*, pp. xx-xxi (MS. U).

Contents:

1. 11-113. Ithotre Rivāyat. Brought from Persia by Mulla Kaus Rustom (Dhabhar 1923'c': 25).[154]
2. 1-63. Kitāb-i Ardā-Vīrāf-i naṯr.

Beginning:

کتاب اردای‌ویراف نثر نوشته شده. اما بعد ایدون کویند که چون شاه اردشیر بابکان...

Colophon (63):

تمت‌الخیر کتاب ویراف‌نامه نثر بروز مبارک خورشید ایزد بماه خجسته خرداد امشاسفند سال اور یکهزار و دوصد و چهل و هشت از شهنشاه یزدگرد شهریار. کاتب و مالک این کتاب کمترین ایرج‌دستور سهراب‌جی بن دستور کاوس‌جی الملقب بدستوران دستورِ مهرجی رانا ساکن قصبه نوساری این را در شهر منبی نوشته شد. از کتابیکه این را نقل کردم آن اصلِ کتاب در کتابخانه ملافیروز در سال یکهزار و چهل یزدگردی نوشته است. از ان کتاب نقل کردم. و این ویراف‌نامه در سال هشتصد و نود و شش یزدگردی از ایران آورده بود. همچون در ان کتاب نوشته است. یزدان بکام باد. تم تم تم تم تم تم

Date and place. 1248 A.Y./1879 A.D in Mombay (Bombay).

Scribe. Īraj dastūr Suhrābjī ibn-i dastūr kāvūsjī al-mulaqqab ba dasturān-i dastūr-i Mihirjī rānā.

Description: "Half-bound; pp. 113+63 marked in Arabic numerals, written 12 ll. to page. 8"x6"" (Dhabhar 1923'c': 26).

Orthography. The letter «پ» *p* is generally written «ب» *b*, but sometimes «پ» *p*, e.g. «پرسید» *pursīd*; «چ» *č* is generally written «ج» *j* and occasionally «چ» *č*; the letter «ژ» *ž* always «ژ» *ž*; and the letter «گ» *g* is always written «ک» *k*. «آ» *ā* sometimes as «ا» *a* and sometimes as «آ» *ā*. *Tašdīd* is never written. But in some cases *kasra* is marked, for example «کِشته‌اند» *kišta-and*.

[154] *Ithoter* is a Gujarati word which means 78 questions. The *Ithoter* was the last letter written to the Parsis by the Iranian Zoroastrians, and sent to them in the year 1142 A.Y./1773 A.D. The text body of this letter was edited and published by Vitalone in 1996.

Some words are written in colour.

In some cases, the second person singular copula in the perfect verb form is written with both «ة» and «ای». For example «رسیده‌ای» *rasīda-yī* is written «رسیدةای».

The prefix «به» is mostly written separately.

«ة» is sometimes used for *kasra-yi iẓāfa*, for example «نسخة آن» *nusxa-yi ān*.

Two dots are sometimes put under «ی» in the combination «ئی».

The sign «ـــــــــــــب» is found at the beginning of almost every episode of manuscript N^2. The sign «.؛», is also put at the end of many episodes. Furthermore, there is a blank space of the size of a word or even more to indicate either the end or the beginning of an episode. However, this does not apply for all episodes. Another feature of this manuscript is to give the correct form of some words that are not written correctly in manuscript N. For example, the word «پتیاره‌اومند» *patiyāra-ūmand* is written «نیاره اومند» *nayāra-ūmand* the first time it occurs in manuscript N, but it is written correctly in manuscript N^2.

Note: According to Dhabhar's catalogue (1923'c': 25-26) manuscript F.44, contains two works: the *Ithoter* and the *Ardāy Vīrāf Nāma* (113-63 pages). But in my microfilm of this manuscript there is only the *Ardāy Vīrāf Nāma*, which has now been numbered from page 1 (not folio) ending on page 63.

The manuscript N^2 is a copy of the manuscript B (= Bombay 105(352)).

M = MÜNCHEN, STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, Zend 73'H28', No date

Cat. Bartholomae, Christian: *Die Zendhandschriften der K. Hof- und Staats-bibliothek in München*, pp. 290-292, No. Zend 73 (Haug 28); also West, E. W.: "Pahlavi Literature": *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*. II, § 122, pp. 124-125; Āmūzgar-Yigāna, J.: *Etudes sur la langue et la littérature maz-déenne en persan*, p. 64 (theses, unpublished); Āmūzgār*, Žāla*: *Adabiyyāt-i zarduštī ba zabān-i fārsī*, p. 199.

Contents:

1. 1. 1b-91b. Vīrāf-i manṯūr, Vīrāf-nāma dar naṯr-i nāqiṣ.

Titles 1 and 2 (fol. 1a):

ویراف منثور
ویرافـنامه در نثر ناقص

Beginning:[155]

[155] A part at the beginning of the text of 10 lines is rewritten in a different penmanship form the rest of the original text in folio la. This part is written in smaller characters than the hand-writing of the text body. These ten lines which occupy about half a page of folio la consist of about four pages of the original text body equal to the lines 3 to 17 in the edited text. Four couplets from the *Šāhnāma* by Firdausī are also written at the end of this part, some word of which are either written mistakenly or unreadable in microfilm. With the same order as in the manuscript, these four couplets are edited and mentioned in the 23rd footnote.

سپاس دارم ایزدی را که ما ر ابیافرید چنانک خواست و خواهد. . .

Last line (fol. 91b):[156]

خداوند ما را از همه بلاها و عزابها نکاه دارد و. . .

Date. Not given.

Scribe. Not named.

Description. 20.5x13.5cm., 91 folios, from 1b to 22b 7 lines on every page, from 23a to 91b 8 lines on every page; clear but rough and thick nastaʻlīq (except 18a, 64a, 83b and 85b which are narrow); a few words are in colour; missing a folio between 88 and 89 (numbering does not show that a folio is missing); damaged folios are particularly 9, 16, 17, 20, 91 and some other folios, where the script has not been repaired; English numbers have later been written on the each folio.

Orthography. The letter «پ» *p* is generally written «ب» *b*, but occasionally «پ» *p*; «چ» *č* is mostly written «ج» *j* and few times «چ» *č*; the letter «ژ» *ž* generally «ژ» *ž* but sometimes «ز» *z*; and the letter «گ» *g* is always written «ک» *k*. «آ» *ā* is sometimes written as «ا» *a* and sometimes as «آ» *ā*. Sometimes «آ» *ā* is written in the middle of words, for example «روان» *ravān* which is written «روآن».

There are three dots under the letter «س» *s* in manuscript M. This caused Haug and West to add a letter «پ» *p* before «س» *s* and mistakenly read words like «ساختند» *sāxtand* as «پساختند» *pasāxtand*.

Vowels and *tašdīd* are not written.

A few words are written in an unusual form, for example «دوژخ» *dūžax* and «عزاب» *ʻazāb*.[157]

BC^2 = Bombay, CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE [R.III.102], No date

Cat. Dhabhar: The K.R. cama Oriental Institute Catalogue, No. 102.

The manuscript BC^2 is presented with the code (R.III.102), and entitled “Some Fragments” in Dhabhar’s Catalogue (Dhabhar 1923‘b’: 150).

This manuscript contains some imperfect fragments of the following works:

Contents:

1. “The end of the Bustan of Saadi (ff. 4)
2. Ardai Viraf nāmeh (Persian) incomplete (ff. 6)
3. An incomplete Persian divān (ff. 24)
4. Forms of petitions – incomplete (ff. 8)
5. Book of medical recipes in Persian verse – incomplete (ff. 49)
6. (a) Risaleh Mulla Ali Kusji (ff. 2) and Hisāb-i Ahal-i Hind (Indian Arithmetic) (ff. 2)
7. Conjugation of Persian verbs-with explanation in Hindi- (ff. 36)

[156] The colophon date of the manuscript M is unknown due to a missing last folio.

[157] Mr. Mehdi Este’dadi Shad ordered the microfilm M (Zend‘73’.H28) from Staatsbibliothek in Münichen; my sincere thanks to him.

8. Some Persian stories written in an exercise book (ff. 15). Water-mark: ‘C. Millington. London. 1863’.
9. A book of medical recipes in Persian prose (in the form of a long scroll 16"x4.7").
10. A fragment of the Pandnāmeh of Saadi and verses composed by Edal Daru on Atash Behram, etc.
11. A fragment of the *Khordeh-Avesta* in Gujarati with Gujarati translation – containing the last karde of the larger Sarosh Yasht, smaller Hom Yasht, Vanant Yasht and Hāvan Gāh (incomplete) (ff. 175 to 182, marked in Gujarati numerals, written 15 ll. to the page)
12. A story book (8 folios) incomplete” (Dhabhar 1923‘b’: 156).[158]

Date: Not given.[159]

Scribe: Not named.

Description: Not available.

Note: Since all works in verse in this manuscript are marked with the word ‘verse’, the fragment of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* should be in prose.

There is no mention of the date when this manuscript was written or the name of scribe. There is no indication of this miscellany neither in the Cama or the Mulla Firuz Library Catalogues.[160]

L = LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM, No.830.

Cat. Ethé, Hermann: Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office. I, columns 1518-1519, No. 830; also Unvālā, J.M.: Collection of Colophons of Manuscripts Bearing on Zoroastrianism in some Libraries of Europe, pp. 100-101.

Contents:

1. 1. 0a-51a. Dāstān-i Vīrāf-Nāma va qiṣṣa-yi šāh Ardašīr-i Bābakān-i Anūšīrvān.

Title 1 (fol. 0a):

اغاز داستان ویراف و قصه شاه اردشیر

Title 2 (fol. 1b):

اغاز داستان ویرافنامه و قصة شاه اردشیر بابکان انوشیروان

Beginning:

چون اردشیر بابکان بپادشاهی بنشست نود بادشاه را بکشت و . . .

Colophon (fol. 51a):[161]

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[158] The transcription of names in Dhabhar’s list of contents is retained.

[159] It is not known on the basis of which mother manuscript the manuscript BC was copied. Part of its colophon has disappeared (104-).

[160] The Mulla Firuz Library and the Oriental Institute Library are, in fact, the same library.

[161] This manuscript is registered as manuscript 830 (MS.830) in the India Office library Catalogue. The numbering of the folios is from 1 to 50. But in the same catalogue, there is another manuscript with the same number in column 1520, namely the *Ṣad dar*. The numbering of the folios of the *Ṣad dar* begins from 51 to 155, that is, exactly following the folios of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. This indicates that both these manuscripts may have been the same at first, and that they were probably separated into two parts while being catalogued.

انجام یافت تم تم تم تم تم تم

2. 51b-1551. Ṣad dar.

Date. Not given.

Scribe. Not named.

Description. 20x12.5cm., 155 folios, 11 lines to the page. The text is written in fine *nasta'līq*, however sometimes the letter «ن» *n* at the end of the words is not attached to the rest of the word. Besides, some words are written in *nasta'līq-i šikasta* (broken nasta'līq), headings are written in coloured ink, and the folios are not numbered. However, there is a Latin number on every fifth folio on the recto side of the folio (5, 10, 15 etc.).

Orthography. «آ» is normally written «ا» but sometimes «آ».

«پ» is generally written «ب» but in some cases «پ»; «چ» is usually written «ج» but in some cases «چ» e.g. «چهار»; «ژ» is always written «ژ».

Two dots are sometimes put under «ی» in the combination «ئی».

Kasra-i iẓāfa is sometimes written «ی» and in some cases «ء».

Ẓamma is often written, especially on «ا» *a* and «ب» *b*, e.g. «اُو» *ū* and «بُود» *būd*.

Prefix «می» *mī-* is sometimes separated but in some cases joined to the next word.

The letter «ه» representing a short *-a* at the end of a word is mostly omitted before the plural ending, e.g. «جامه ها» *jāma-hā* has been written «جامها».

The «الف» of «است» *ast* is mostly omitted, e.g. «معروف است» *ma'rūf ast* is written «معروفست».

Some words are found in two forms, e.g: «پول» and «پل» for *pul* 'bridge'; and one in three forms: «شبانروز» *šabānrūz*, «شبان‌روز» *šabān-rūz* and «شبانه روز» *šabāna-rūz*.

The dots have not put in correctly in certain cases and at times some words have too many or too few dots, e. g: «جایگاه» *jāygāh* has been written as «جانگاه» *jāngāh* and «یزشن» *jazašn* as «پرشن» *parašn*.

Some nouns and pronouns have two different forms, e. g: «ایشان» and «اوشان», «شاهسفرم» and «شاهسپرم».

Some words are recorded incorrectly, e.g. «گزارش» *guzāriš* for «گذارش» *guẕāriš*, «چوپ» *čūp*, «گرمایه» *garmāpa* and «عزاب» *'azāb*.

Some words are written in an unusual form, e.g. «دوژخ» *dūžax*.[162]

Special characteristics of the texts

Due to the words it contains, many of which are compounds and old verbs, and due to the variation in grammatical structures the Zoroastrian Persian version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, belongs to the most important and oldest New Persian texts. The following examples of words, verbs and grammatical

[162] Mr. Mehrdad Fallahzadeh provided the microfilm L (No.830) from the British Museum Library and brought it for me. Thanks to him.

structures indicate that the text was written in the fourth or fifth A.H./tenth or eleventh A.D. centuries. The examples below have been selected from manuscript N, which is the basic manuscript, and the number of the folios refers to this manuscript.

Old Zoroastrian Persian words and compounds found in the text are:
«ایدون» *īdūn* (139a), «هُمت» *humat*, «هوخت» *hūxt*, «هُوَرشت» *hūvaršt*, «تیرست» *tīrast* (139b), «سدیگر» *sidīgar*, «تیغ استره» *tīġ-i ustura* (140a), «ستریایه» *sitr-pāya*, «شاهانشاه» *šāhānšāh* (140b), «دین‌دوست» *dīn-dūst*, «اشوان» *ašvān*, «پاداشن» *pādāšn*, «آویچه» *āvīča*, «دروندان» *durvandān* (141b), «فریشتگان» *firīštagān* (142a),«پای‌مزد» *pāy-muzd* (142b),«اسپاهانه» *ispāhāna*, «شاهسفرم» *šāhsafarm* (143a),«کشت و ورز» *kišt-u-varz* (143b), «جادنگویی» *jādangūyi*, «آتشان» *ātašān* (144b), «شوم‌منش» *šūm-maniš* (147b), «به‌افزونی» *bih-afzūnī* (148b).

Old verbs encountered are:
«گرامی کردن» *girāmī-kardan*, «آرزودادن» *ārizū-dādan*, «رشوت کردن» *rišvat-kardan*, «در گردن بودن» *dar-gardan-būdan* (142b),«دل باز دادن» *dil-bāz-dādan*, «تخشابودن» *tuxšā-būdan* (143a), «گِرد برآمدن» *gird-bar-āmadan*, «باز گذشتن» *bāz-guzaštan*, «ویله کردن» *vīla-kardan* (145a), «بانگ داشتن» *bāng-dāštan*, «عذاب‌گذاشتن» *'azāb-guzāštan* (146a), «آب‌تاختن» *āb-tāxtan*, «درآویختن» *dar-āvīxtan*, «شکنجه برنهادن» *šikanja-bar-nahādan* (146b), «گزند کردن» *gazand-kardan*, «به زیان آوردن» *ba-ziyān-āvardan*, «موی به شانه کردن» *mūy ba šāna-kardan* (147b), «بر شهر شدن» *bar šahr šudan*, «فریاد داشتن» *fariyād-dāštan* (148a), «از یاد بازکردن» *az yād bāz-kardan*, «دست باز مداشتن» *dast bāz-madāštan* (148b).

The structure of the following sentences is particularly interesting:
«بر ایشان هیچ گناه پیدا نیامده بود» *bar īšān hīč gunāh paydā nayāmada būd* (139a), «از برادر نیزمان جدا خواهی کردن» *az barādar nīzmān judā xwāhī kardan* (139b), «چنانک هر اندامی که چشم برمی‌افکندم، چشم از آن‌جا نمی‌توانستن و شایست گرفتن» *čināňk har andāmī ki čašm bar-mī-afkandam, čašm az ān-jā namī-tavānistan va šāyist giriftan* (140a), «من به خورد و توانایی خویش، نماز کردم» *man ba xūrd va tavānayī-yi xwīš, namāz kardam* (141a), «و روز به روز این روان‌های این قوم روشن‌تر و پاکیزه‌تر و بزرگوارتر باشند» *va rūz ba rūz īn ravān-hā-yi īn qaum raušan-tar va pākīza-tar va buzurgvār-tar bāšand* (143a), «از تنگی چنان دیدم که به دشواری در آن‌جا شایست شدن» *az tangī činān dīdam ki ba dušvārī dar ān-jā šāyist šudan* (145b).

Among the verb forms, the past tense with the suffixed *-ī* can be observed in its ordinary usages of indicating unrealized counterfactual actions or habitual actions in the past. It also occasionally occurs in manuscript N for single actions, like the simple past tense, as in the following three examples:
«بیامدی و مرا نماز بردی» *biyāmadī va marā namāz burdī* (line 101),

«سلام کردی و گفتی» *salām kardī va guftī* (line 102),
«دست من بگرفتی و گفتی» *dast-i man bi-giriftī va guftī* (line 108).[163]

There are a few passages in which *bā* occurs where one would have expected *ba* "to" as in the following examples:
«اعتقاد با یکی آورم» *i'tiqād bā yakī āvaram* (line 11),
«چون با آن جانب پول شدم» *čūn bā ān jānib-i pūl šudam* (line 169),
«همچنانک غریبی که با خانه خویش شود» *ham-činānki ġarībī ki bā xāna-yi xwīš šavad* (lines 188-189),
«و با مردمان خیانت کم کرده‌اند» *va bā mardumān xiyānat kam karda-and* (lines 465-466),
«و دیگرباره با گیتی نگذارند که شما مُزد و کرفه کنید» *va dīgar-bāra bā gītī na-gużārand ki šumā muzd va karfa kunīd* (lines 928-929).

The method used in the editing of the text

The editing of the text is based on a critical method. The present text has been edited on the basis of manuscript N. This text has been compared with manuscripts P, N² and M, and the different readings are mentioned in footnotes. Since manuscript O is a copy from manuscript N and even has the same date in the colophon, it has been used just for reading doubtful words. Manuscript L was used for a specific purpose. All the headings of the episodes are written according to that manuscript, since it is the only manuscript that has a division into episodes with headings. In addition to this, manuscript L in addition to the other ones was frequently referred to for the reading of some badly written words and other uncertain readings.

However the critical method was not employed mechanically. Some scribes confirm that they had directly or indirectly copied their manuscript from manuscript N. It seems, though, as if all manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* have been copied from manuscript N, except manuscript L, something which was explained separately. The reason for this is that all the other manuscripts have a number of mistakes already found in manuscript N. Moreover, there are blank spaces in manuscript N, some of which are found in the same place in all these manuscripts, too. If all the wrong words of the text were the same in all manuscripts and all blank spaces were exactly the same, it would be unnecessary to use the other manuscripts to edit the text. Since, according to the rule 'eliminatio codicum descriptorum' (elimination of derivative manuscripts) (Timpanaro 2005: 47), i.e. if one is sure that one or several manuscripts have been copied from an original manuscript, the edition should just rely on that original one. The copied manuscripts are of

[163] Sincere thanks to Mrs. Judith Josephson for drawing my attention to this matter.

no extra value. However, this is not true in this case, since all the manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* are not exactly the same word for word.

However, even if we could be certain that all later manuscripts have been copied from manuscript N, it will be possible to find more original forms of words in other manuscripts as well. This might be due to the knowledge of the scribe who sometimes emendates a word while copying the text, and thus is not merely making a copy from the original manuscript. Additionally, perhaps the scribe had already copied the same manuscript from a better and more correct manuscript earlier and was therefore aware of defects and mistakes in the present manuscript which he decided to correct (Umīdsālār 2005-2006: 192-193). For these reasons, use has been made of all the available manuscripts to edit the text.

When there were two or more variants for a single word or term, according to 'difficilior lectio potior' (the most difficult alternative is the most correct) (Beal 2008: 120), the most difficult alternative was selected and given in the text body, and the other variants were moved to a footnote. For example, the word «پهریخته» *pahrīxta* is more difficult than the word «پرهیخته» *parhīxta*, thus given in the text body. Yet, not every word is selected just because it is the most difficult alternative. For example, there is a word in manuscript N, which is recorded as «نیادهاومند» *nayāda-ūmand* the first time it occurs (140a). The correct form of the word is «پتیارهاومند» *patiyāra-ūmand* which is written in manuscript N^2 and in the very manuscript N the second time it occurs (140b).

On the other hand, in spite of the antiquity of manuscript N, some words and terms found there are not the original and ancient ones. In this instance, following the rule 'utrum in alterum abiturum erat?' (What has been changed into what else?) (Beal 2008: 427), the more ancient variant is selected in the text body. For example, the word «کژدم [گژدم]» *každum* [*gaždum*] is found in the four manuscripts NN^{2}MO, but this very same word is recorded as «گژدهم» *gažduhm* in manuscript P. This latter form was given in the text.

Some words are found in both an ancient and more recent form in manuscript N or in the other manuscripts. For example, the words «گوسپند» *gūspand* and «گوسفند» *gūsfand*, «خورسند» *xūrsand* and «خرسند» *xwarsand*, «زفان» *zafān* and «زبان» *zabān*, «پول» *pūl* and «پل» *pul*. In these cases, the ancient variants of the words are chosen for the text, and the more recent variants have been changed into the ancient variants as well.

Likewise, whenever a word contains a mistake in the manuscript, it has been corrected in the text and the incorrect form was given in a footnote. One example is the word «تفوقی» *tafavvuqī,* which is written «تفرقی» *tafarruqī* in all manuscripts except in manuscript L. This word has been recorded as «نانی» *nānī* in manuscript L. While editing, the correct form of the word, «تفوقی» *tafavvuqī*, was recorded in the text and the other forms were moved to a footnote. Fortunately, there are few of these words in the text.

Thus, perhaps the editing method used in this thesis could be described as a mixing of the critical and eclectic methods.

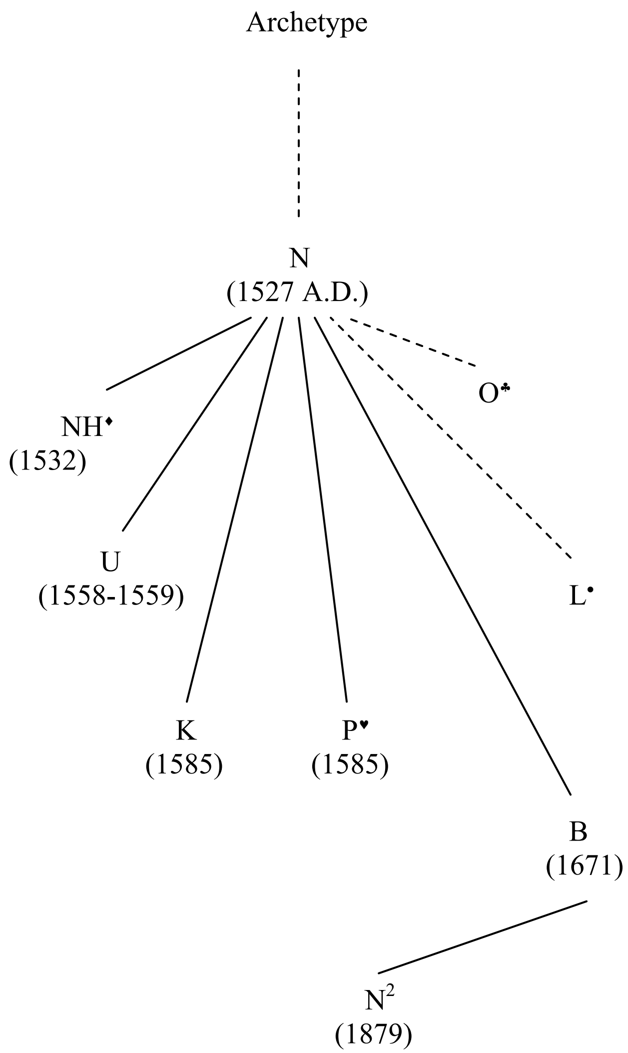
As was explained in the section above on manuscripts, there is no consequent way of writing compound words, like adding a prefix to the word, adding a suffix, forming a plural noun, and so on. That is, the compound words are every now and then adjoined or apart. The writing of compound forms of the words is here based on the principle of separate writing, so this method has been applied as the standard method in the edition.

In the present thesis, the four Persian letters «پ» *p*, «چ» *č*, «ژ» *ž* and «گ» *g* are written in their modern forms. The general orthography is also changed according to the most recent rules provided for Modern Persian, e.g. separation of the prefix «می» *mī-* from the stem of the verb and of the plural suffix «ها» *-hā* from the noun, except in the case of *kasra-yi iẓāfa* after a word ending in *–ah*, which is written with a «ء» *hamza*. Furthermore, the *majhūl* vowels (*ē* and *ō*) are transcribed with their Modern Persian counterparts (*ī* and *ū*). Vocalisation in the edited text is added by the editor.

The letter «ی» is occasionally written for the *kasra-yi iẓāfa*, for example: «چیزی» *čīzī* instead of «چیزِ» *čīz-i* and «جایگاهی» *jāygāhī* instead of «جایگاهِ» *jāygāh-i*. They have kept with this form in the edited text.

The editor is responsible for the punctuation of the text. Additions by the editor are marked by square brackets, [ ], whereas explanations of words and terms are put between brackets ( ) in the translation. < > is added around pleonastic words.

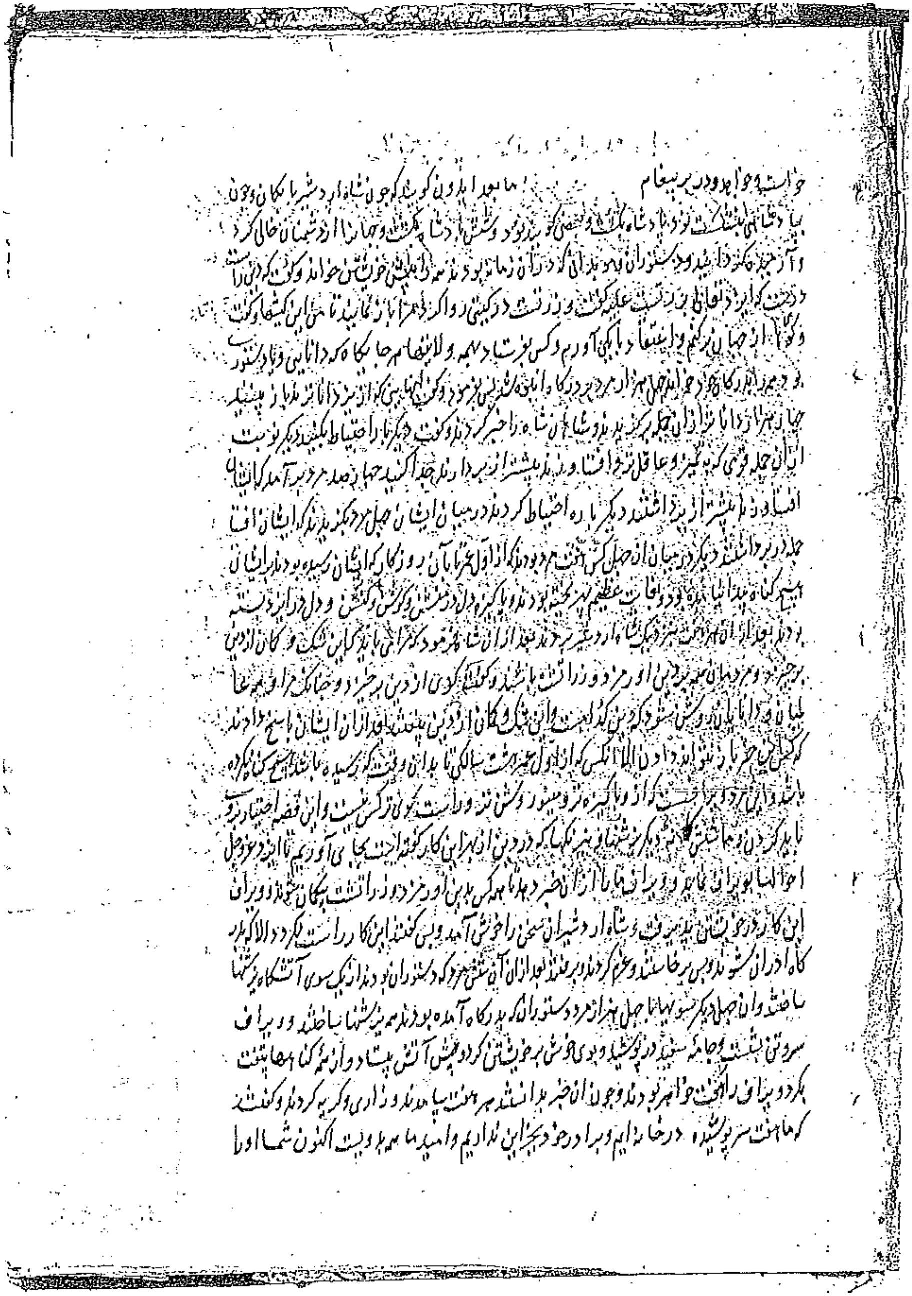
Stemma codicum



Manuscripts without date

BC
M♠
BC2

♣ Manuscript O was copied from manuscript N word by word; even the colophon date was copied. But it is not known when this copy was done.
♦ Manuscript NH is lost.
• Manuscript L has no colophon date, but due to its simple language, it seems to be the last version reproduced from the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*.
♥ It seems that this manuscript is a copy made in 954 A.Y./1585 A.D. from the copy of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* which was brought by Kama Asa from Persia (Unvālā 1940: 18).
♠ The colophon date of manuscript M is unknown due to the loss of the last folio.



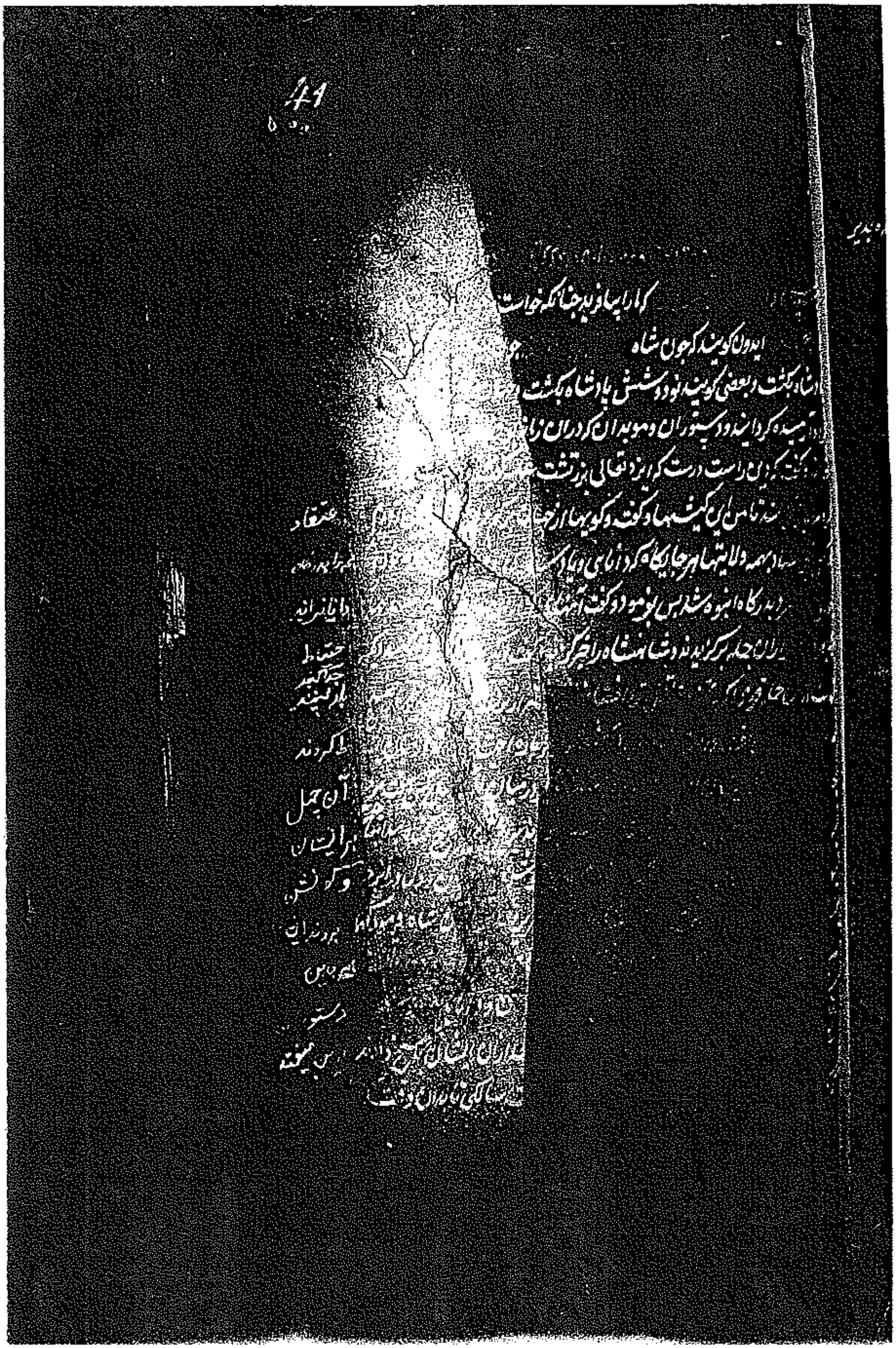
Manuscript N (T.30), folio 139a.

بنام ایزد

اردای ویراف نثر

سپاس دارم ایزدی را که ما را بیافرید نجات ما
خواست و خواهد و در پیغام تا بعد ایدون گویند که چون شاه
اردشیر بابکان و چون بپادشاهی بنشست نود پادشاه بکشت
و بعضی گویند نود و شش پادشاه بکشت و جهان را از دشمنان خالی کرد
و آرمیده گردانید و دستوران و موبدان که در آن زمانه بودند همه را پیش
خویشتن خواند و گفت که دین راست و درست که ایزد تعالی بزرتشت
علیه گفت و زرتشت در گیتی روا کرد مرا بازنمایید تا من این کیشها و گفت
گوییها از جهان برکنم و اعتقاد پاکی آورم و کس بفرستاد بهمه ولایتها

Manuscript O (Bodl.Or.719), folio 1b.



Manuscript P (S.P.47), folio 41a.

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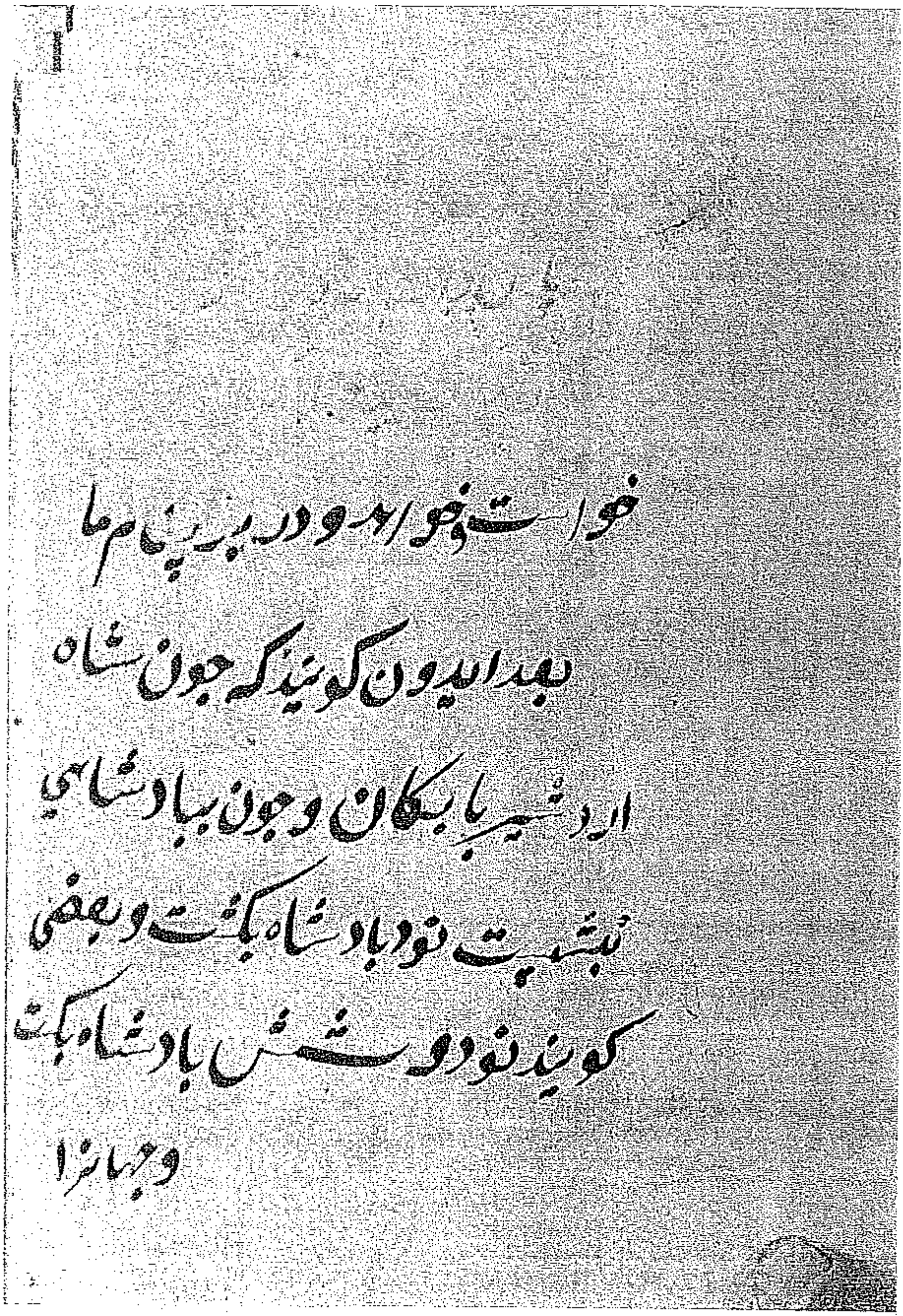
بنام ایزد بخشاینده بخشایشگر مهربان

کتاب اردا ویراف نثر نوشته شد

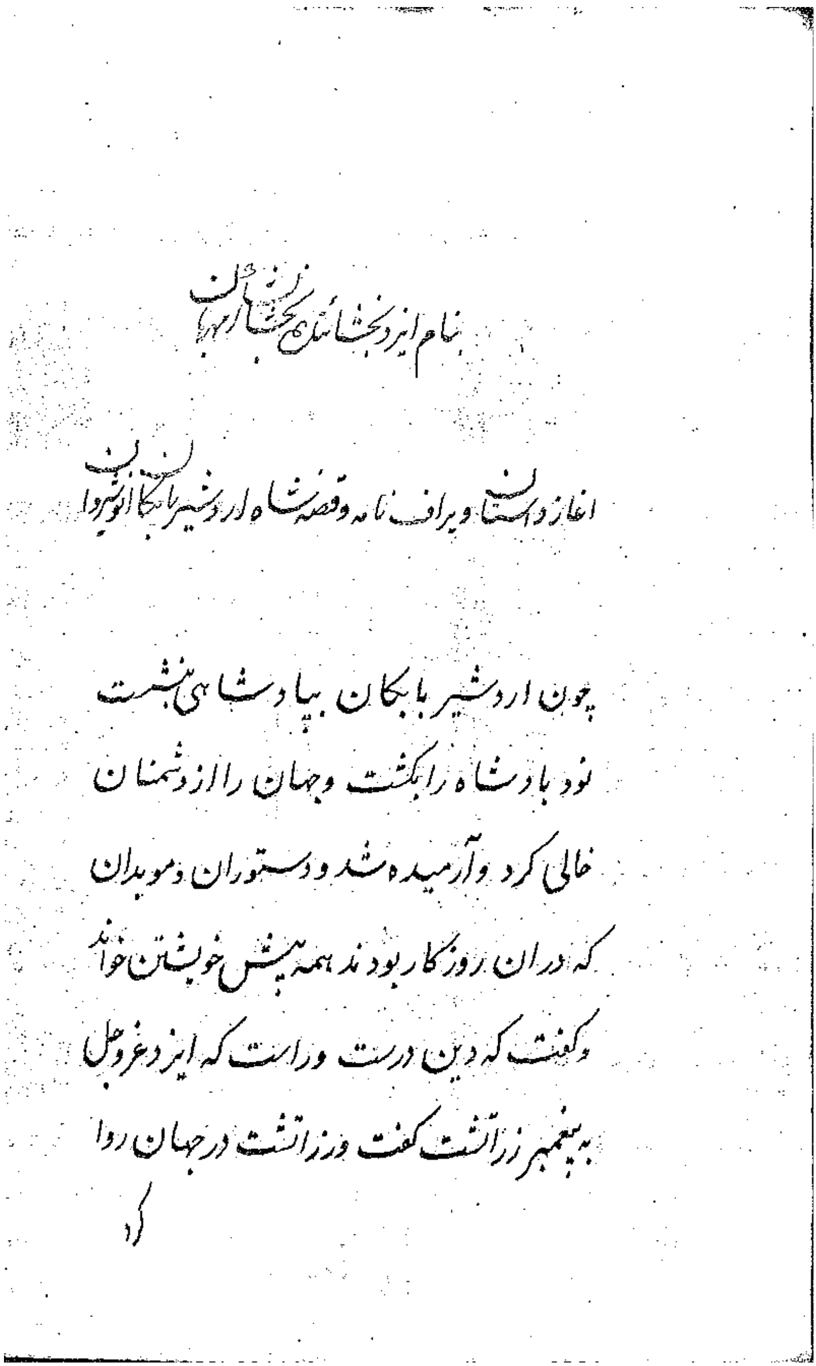
اما بعد ایزدان گویند که چون شاه اردشیر بابکان چون بپادشاهی نشست
نود پادشاه بکشت و بعضی گویند نود و شش پادشاه را بکشت و جهان
را از دشمنان خالی کرد و آرمیده گردانید و دستوران و موبدان که
دران زمانه بودند همه را پیش خویش خواند و گفت که دین راست و
درست که ایزد تعالی بزرتشت علیه گفت و زرتشت در گیتی روا کرد
مرا باز نمایید تا من این کیشها و گفت و گویها از جهان برکنم و اعتقاد
با یکی آرم و کس بفرستاد بهمه ولایتها هر جایگاه که دانایی و یا دستوری
بود همه را بدرگاه خود خواند چهل هزار مرد بر درگاه انبوه شدند پس
بفرمود و گفت آنهایی که ازان داناترند باز بینند چهار هزار داناتر

ازان چهل

Manuscript N^2 (F.44), page 1.


خواست وخورد ودر پیش پام ما
بعد ایدون گویند که چون شاه
اردشیر بابکان وچون بپادشاهی
بنشست نود پادشاه بکشت وبعضی
گویند نود وشش پادشاه بکشت
وجهان را

Manuscript M (Zend 73'H28'), folio 1b.



بنام ایزد بخشایندهٔ بخشایشگر مهربان

اغاز داستان ویراف نامه وقصه شاه اردشیر بابکان انوشروان

چون اردشیر بابکان بپادشاهی نشست
نود بادشاه رابکشت وجهان راازدشمنان
خالی کرد وآرمیده شد ودستوران وموبدان
که دران روزگار بودند همه پیش خویشتن خواند
وگفت که دین درست وراست که ایزد عزوجل
به پیغمبر زرتشت گفت وزرتشت درجهان روا
کرد

Manuscript L (No.830), folio 1b.

In the name of God the compassionate, the merciful, the righteous, the creator

ARDĀY-VĪRĀF NĀMA

I give thanks to God who created us as [139a] he willed and he wills, and peace upon the prophet.

And then;

Thus they say that when Ardašīr Bābakān became king, he killed ninety kings, and some say he killed ninety-six kings, and he emptied the world of enemies and made [it] a tranquil place. And he summoned before him all the *dastūr*s and *mūbad*s who were [active] at that time and said "Show me clearly the true and correct religion which almighty God revealed to Zarathustra the high ranking and [which] he made current in the world, so that I may destroy false religions and disputes and bring about faith in one [religion]!"

And he [Ardašīr] sent somebody to all the provinces. In every place where there was a learned man or a *dastūr* he summoned them all to his court. A crowd of forty thousand men were gathered at the court. Then he spoke and said: "Choose those who are the wisest among them!"

They selected the four thousand wisest of them and informed the king of kings and he ordered: "Exercise prudence a second time!–Choose again among them those who are most expert in discernment and who know by heart a large amount of the *Afistā* (*Avesta*) and Zand!"

Four hundred men who knew by heart the largest quantities of the *Avesta* and Zand emerged. Once again and with precaution they selected forty men who knew by heart the whole of the *Avesta*. Among these forty men, there were seven men who had not committed any sinful deed from the beginning of their lives until the age they had now reached. And they were exceedingly

cultured and virtuous in thoughts words and deeds and they were all attached to God.

Then all seven of these men were brought to King Ardašīr.

Afterwards, the king stated: "It is necessary for me to dispel these suspicions and doubts about the religion, and all people will adhere to the religion of Ohrmazd and Zarathustra; and all disputes about the religion must be dispelled so that it will be clear to me and to all the learned and wise men which religion [this] is, and these suspicions and doubts will disappear from [our] religion."

Then they replied: "No one is able to provide this information except the one who has not committed a sinful deed from the beginning of his eighth year to the age he has now reached, and this man is Vīrāf, because there is no one more virtuous, with a more enlightened mind and more truthful than he. And thus it is necessary to choose him for this serious affair. And we six others will perform suitable worship and charms that have been prescribed by [our] religion for this purpose, so that the Glorious God will reveal all matters to Vīrāf and Vīrāf will inform us of them, so that everyone will be free of doubt about Ohrmazd's and Zarathustra's religion.

And Vīrāf agreed to this matter.

And King Ardašīr was pleased with these words.

And then they said: "This matter cannot be carried out correctly unless they go up to the sacred fire." And then they rose with determination and went away.

After that, those six men, who were *dastūr*s, performed their ceremonies on one side of the fire-temple and on the other sides, the other forty men together with those forty thousand *dastūr*s who had come to the court, all performed their ceremonies.

And Vīrāf washed his head and body [ceremonially] and put on white clothes and perfumed himself with sweet scent, and he stood before the fire and repented of all [his] sins.

Vīrāf had seven sisters, and when they were informed of the news, all seven came and they wept and cried saying: "We are seven veiled heads at home, and as for our brother, we have no one beside him, and we place all our hope in him. Now you [139b] will send him to the Other World, and we do not know whether we will see his face again or not. And you will make us orphans. We have been separated from our father and mother and you want to separate us from our brother, too. We shall not permit this, because we have only this one brother. Choose someone else and set [our] brother free to us!"

When the *dastūr*s heard these remarks, they said: "Do not be worried and mistrustful, because we will return him [to you] safe and healthy in seven days." Then they swore an oath and the seven sisters became satisfied and turned back.

Then the King of Kings, Ardašīr, and his horsemen clothed in armor kept guard around the fire-temple, in order to prevent a heretic or a hypocrite from doing a hidden thing to Vīrāf that would cause harm to him and so that no one could commit an evil deed during the worship ceremonies which would render the charms void.

Afterwards they placed a bed in the center of the fire-temple and spread clean bedding on it. Then they seated Vīrāf on the throne and put a face-veil on him. Those forty thousand men began to celebrate the worship and they prepared some consecrated bread and put some wine upon the consecrated bread.

When they finished the ceremony they gave one cup of that wine to Vīrāf as [the sign] of good thought, that is, of a pure and true belief and intention, and they gave him the second cup as [the sign of] good word, that is, of sincere speech and true word and they gave him the third cup as [the sign of] good deed, that is, a praiseworthy act.

After that, when Vīrāf had drunk the three cups of wine, he laid down there and fell asleep

They continued the worship ceremonies during seven days and nights while those six *dastūr*s sat by Vīrāf's bed. Those other thirty-three men who had been selected performed ceremonies around the throne. Meanwhile, those three hundred and sixty other men who had been selected earlier performed ceremonies around them and thirty-six thousand men performed ceremonies around them inside the dome of the fire-temple. Meanwhile the King of Kings, clothed in armor and seated on [his] horse, and his troops, were continually circulating outside the dome and did not even allow passage to the wind. In every place where worshippers were seated in clusters, a group of soldiers with drawn swords and clothed in armor stood watching to keep them in their proper places and no one was allowed to mix with anyone else. Infantry-men in armor stood around where Vīrāf's bed was, so that no one but those six *dastūr*s were free to go near the throne. From time to time, the King of Kings himself went in and came out and guarded the fire-temple. They watched over Vīrāf's body this intensely for seven days and nights.

Finally, after seven days and nights Vīrāf moved again and became revived and sat up.

When the people and the *dastūr*s saw that Vīrāf had awakened, they were happy and glad, they experienced peace and stood up to show reverence and said: "You are welcome, o Ardāy-Vīrāf, and that means when looking back that he is heavenly righteous". How did you come back and how did you escape and what did you see? Tell us so that also we may know the conditions of the Other World."

[The First Episode]

Description of How Ardāy-Vīrāf Returns from Heaven and his Report

Ardāy-Vīrāf said: First, bring me something to eat because, I ate nothing during these seven days and nights and my body has become weakened. Afterwards, ask me whatever you wish and I will inform you.

The *dastūr*s prepared some consecrated bread immediately. Ardāy-Vīrāf recited the *vāj* slowly. He ate a little and gave thanks to God. Then, he said: "Now fetch a knowledgeable scribe [140a] and I shall reveal everything I saw; and you must send copies all over the world so that the matters of heavenly paradise and heaven and hell will be clear to everyone. Thus they may know the value of good deeds and they may avoid evil deeds.

Then they brought a knowledgeable scribe and he sat down in the presence of Ardāy-Vīrāf.

[…] I drank and fell asleep.

Some time passed. I saw Surūš-ašū (Surūš the truthful) as he approached and he showed me reverence and greeted me and said, "Ardāy-Vīrāf, you are welcome as you come from that contentious world to this luminous world, but it was not yet time for you to come to this world."

I showed him respect and said, "I have been sent as a messenger from that world. For this reason all the *dastūr*s and all the pious men held a meeting and the King of Kings sent me on this important [mission] to obtain information about this world."

When I said these words, Surūš the truthful took me by the hand and said: "Indeed, your intention and thought are pure, right, and true. Ascend one step." I ascended one step. And he said to me again, "Your speaking is true and you have not told lies. Ascend another step." I ascended another step. Then for the third time he said: "All your deeds are good and sincere, you have done no evil and due to it you have reached this level which no one has ever reached. Ascend another step." As I ascended another step, I reached the Čīnvad-pūl (Chinvad Bridge) and I saw [that] the bridge was like a tree with many branches and there were branches that seemed as thin as a sharp edge.

[The Second Episode]

Description of how Ardāy-Vīrāf saw a spirit which had departed the body

Then as I was watching, I saw in that place a man's spirit that had recently departed [his] body and was seated by the bed of the dead body and was saying these words, "May he be happy whose [own] goodness has become

beneficent for people". For during the days he was there that spirit had experienced more rest, comfort and happiness than he had during all his time in the world. At dawn following the third night I saw that spirit coming and on the road he was following I imagined that he was walking through basil and blossoms. The odor of the basil was so sweet smelling that, as long as I have been in the world, I have never heard of a sweeter odor.

When I came nearer to the Chinvad Bridge, there came a zephyr from the paradise of olives that was more delightful than the odor of musk and ambergris. I looked through the zephyr, and never as long as I have been in the world had I seen a more beautiful apparition, with prominent breasts and ringlets reaching her feet. And the more I looked at her, she seemed more beautiful in my eyes, so that every limb that I looked upon I could not and should not take my eyes away from it as would befit. And the more I looked the more she appealed to me. And when the spirit saw that figure, she smiled at him. Then the spirit asked her, "Who are you for I have never seen a more beautiful, a more lovely and a more faultless face than yours?" The face replied: "I am your good deeds, which you have done in the world. You were of good intention, good words and good deeds, and you observed the pure religion. I am your good deeds. I am so beautiful in your sight because you have done charitable acts when you were in the world. You have respected water and fire, and through your effort you have not harmed [them] and you have destroyed the *xrafstar* (noxious creatures). And you have benefitted righteous men and whoever had come from a foreign land [140b] and also those who were living in the land. And you gave foreigners room in your own place and were hospitable towards them and treated them well. As much as possible you have been diligent about doing charitable acts and you have succeeded. I was beautiful and you have made me more beautiful, I was illuminated, and you have made me more illuminated. I was higher than all the spirits; you have made me superior and greater so that people in the world will perform deeds and charitable acts, Each day I will become more beautiful and illuminated because of you." Then she embraced him and laughed with him. And then, in one step, with the good that he had thought he ascended to the star station. And at the second step, because of the good he had said, he went to the moon station. And at the third step for the good deeds he had done, he went to the sun station and finally, at his fourth step, he went to *garūṯmān* (paradise).

[The Third Episode]

Description of seeing the Amšāspandān (Holy Immortals)

Then Surūš the truthful took me by the hand and led me onto the Chinvad Bridge. When I looked, I saw Mihr-īzad standing there. Surūš the truthful put his hand on the bridge and stopped. When I saw the Holy Immortals I

wished to greet them. They greeted me first and said: “O, Ardāy-Vīrāf, you are welcome, though your time has not yet come.”

And I said: “Greeting and salutation be upon you. I have been sent from that world by the *mūbad*s, the *dastūr*s, the pure religious and the King of Kings, so that I can reveal to them the conditions of this world.”

As I said these words I saw the man’s spirit that had [just] arrived there, and I saw that the bridge turned over to that side which was twenty-seven meters in width. I saw how the spirit passed bravely over the bridge and I also crossed the bridge after him.

[The Fourth Episode]

Description of how Ardāy-Vīrāf saw the virtuous and chaste spirits

And Surūš the truthful had taken me by the hand. When I reached the other side of the bridge I saw a luminosity before which my eye was dazzled. When I looked, I saw the spirits of past generations appear before us, and happily and smilingly to inquire about me, and they asked me in a pleasant way: “How did you escape from that wicked world; for in that world there is no comfort without suffering? Everything is nostalgia, sadness and sorrow. There is no pleasure that is not followed by more sadness in the world, which is the source of the grief and misfortunes of the virtuous. And since you have come here, do not worry, and be happy, because never again will pain reach you, you will be comfortable with no affliction and you will be in good health without any plague, eat well and be joyful because here is always happiness and cheerfulness; there is no evil here.”

Then, while those spirits were speaking and making me [feel] hopeful and my heart light, I saw Bahman amšāspand (Bahman the Holy Immortal) who came and took me by the hand and said: “Come and I will show you the golden throne which has been called the empyrean or celestial throne!”

[The Fifth Episode]

The description of seeing Bahman the Holy Immortal

And he brought me up, and I saw a throne that I am not capable of describing. And I saw the spirit of that man standing there and the Holy Immortals were doing a ring dance with joined hands, and I saw the spirits of that man’s relatives; they were all joyful as if a stranger had returned to his home and his relatives rejoiced on that account. Afterwards, Bahman the Holy Immortal took the spirit by the hand and led him to his place, and those spirits of past generations went along with him, and they were happy as he sat on his throne.

Then Surūš the truthful [141a] took me by hand and said: “Behold, the empyrean and the celestial throne. Do reverence!”

I did reverence. I saw that all was luminosity; my eye was dazzled.

[The Sixth Episode]

The Description of Seeing *Hamīstagān* (Limbo)

Then Surūš the truthful took me by the hand, turned and led [me] back to the Chinvad Bridge again. There I saw that in the middle of the Chinvad Bridge many people had gathered as a crowd. I asked Surūš the truthful: "Who are these people and why are they gathered here, what are they doing and why are they being kept here?" Surūš the truthful said: "Call this place limbo because these people are here and will remain continuously standing and will not be able to sit down until the resurrection of the final body. And they are superior people whose virtues and sins are equal. When you go back to that world, say to people that although their good deeds are few, they [should] strive to do [them]. Because if the good deeds of this group had been a little more than their sins, even as little as a single eyelash, their spirits would have reached paradise and would not have come here, where they must stand up in this way, and the cold and the heat will affect them until the time of the resurrection of the final body. Otherwise, no other suffering is [inflicted] on them."

[The Seventh Episode]

The Description of Seeing the *Sitāra-pāya* (Star-Station)

And from there he brought me back to the Star-station. I saw some souls who radiated light like the stars. I asked Surūš the truthful: "What is this place, and who are these people, and why have they been kept here?" Then Surūš the truthful said: "These are the souls of those persons who have not become *nau-zūd* and they have not performed *gītī-xarīd*. They had the ability and they had [received] the command, but they did not strive to attain the reward. But because they did not become *nau-zūd*, their souls have been detained here and they are not capable of rising higher than this."

[The Eight Episode]

The Description of Seeing the *Māh-pāya* (Moon-Station)

Then, Surūš the truthful took me by the hand and led me to the Moon-station. I saw many people who had gathered there. I said: "What is this place and who are these people?" Surūš the truthful answered: "This is called the paradise that is well-known as the Moon-station. These people have not performed *nau-zūdī* although they have exercised all the other virtues. They have remained in this place because they have not recited the *Gāthās* and have not performed the worship. The souls of these people are as luminous as the moon, and they are living in comfort and pleasure."

[The Ninth Episode]

The Description of Seeing Xūršīd-pāya (Sun-Station)

Afterwards, I left that place along with Surūš the truthful, and I saw a place the luminosity of which caused my eyes to be dazzled. And I saw people who were seated there and each one of them was seated on a golden throne. I asked: "What is that place, and who are these people; you could imagine each of them to be a king because of the houses, the thrones, and the articles of luxury?" Surūš the truthful said: "This place is the Sun-station, and these are people who committed few sins in that world, besides having done *nauzūdī* and exercised many virtues. They have purified their souls in this manner, and because of this they have become worthy of all goodness."

[The Tenth Episode]

The Description of Seeing the Place of worship

Then Surūš the truthful led me yet higher. I looked and saw luminosity everywhere, so much so that I could not see anything due to the luminosity. Surūš the truthful said to me: "This is the place for worshiping Ohrmazd. Pay homage to Ohrmazd!" I worshiped properly and according to my ability, and I lost my sense and my reason because of the majesty and luminosity of that place.

[The Eleventh Episode]

The Description of Nourishing by the Spring Oil

After that, I heard a voice saying: "Do not trouble him much, because he has come from that world of distress and affliction. [141b] He has suffered so much on the way, and has experienced much dread. Rather give him food!" While I looked, they brought a cup and poured some oil in the cup, and said: "This is called spring oil." When I drank it, I found its flavor such that I had never drunk anything as delicious as that in the world, and still I feel its taste and delectation. And I know that as long as I live that pleasure will not leave my palate. And they said: "Every person who is in paradise is there because of his good thoughts, good words and good deeds, and this is his place, and he will be fed by this meal at first. And also women who are god-fearing, obedient to their husbands, and religious will be nourished by that same meal, and will be seated at this same place and station.

[The Twelfth Episode]

The Description of Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal

And then while I was looking, I saw Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal who was

coming near me. I made an effort to greet him, but he greeted me first, and said: "You are welcome, Ardāy-Vīrāf, although it was not yet time for you to come. And you have irritated me a little, because you have placed wet logs on the fire. And the Most High God has entrusted the fire to me, and whosoever does wrong to it in that world, I will be irritated with that person in this world." When I heard these words from Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal, I replied: "The Holy Immortals are not idle talkers. I know truly that I have never put wet logs on the fire, and that I always only put seven-year-old logs on the fire. I do not understand how it could be that you tell me, 'You have put wet logs on the fire.'" When he heard those words, he took my hand and said: "Come and I will show you the seven-year-old logs you have put on the fire." And I followed him. I saw a whirlpool with much water standing in it. He said: "That is what has leaked out of the seven-year-old logs you have put on the fire. Be aware that one-year-old logs may be very much drier than the seven-year- old logs, because, whenever more than one year has passed, the log will absorb moisture again and get wet. And you should tell these words to the people."

[The Thirteenth Episode]

The Description of Seeing *Garūṯmān* (Paradise) and the Place of Ohrmazd

Then Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal took me by the hand and led me to Paradise. When I saw that place, I was astounded and powerless. I imagined that it was made of ruby. It shone like the sun, but was perhaps brighter and more beautiful than the light of the sun and the moon. It was as if that light shone on one side and radiated light from that side. And I asked Surūš the truthful: "What is this place, and of what precious stone has it been made?" Surūš the truthful replied: "This jewel is a diamond, pure and [like] a pendant." When I went a short distance, the light became brighter and brighter and however much I looked, I could see nothing due to the luminosity. I heard a voice saying: "You are welcome, o Ardāy-Vīrāf, from that contentious, troubled world to this pure world."

Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal were told to take Vīrāf's hand and show him the place of the righteous and that of the sinners and the reward for virtues and the punishment for sinners. And then they took my hand and led me to each place.

[The Fourteenth Episode]

The Description of Seeing the Souls of the Munificent and the Generous

In the first place I reached, I saw souls all dressed in garments and clothes of

gold and silver brocade, [and they were] all seated on thrones with crowns on their heads [142a] and their faces radiated luminosity in wide circles. They were all laughing and playing joyfully. When I saw them I became very happy and I was amazed by their merriment. And I asked Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal: "What people are they?" They replied: "These are the souls of the munificent ones who have been generous to their relatives and to worthy men in that world. And what they had, they did not deny the virtuous and the chaste. And they were always hospitable, and donated clothes to the poor and to the orphans, and fed the hungry. Now, consequently, their souls receive exactly the greatness and exaltation and enjoy the goodness and luminosity that you see."

Those souls appeared good in my sight and I said: "I wish my soul would be able to reach to this place."

[The Fifteenth Episode]

The Description of Seeing the Souls that have done nau-zūdī

Then when I had passed that place, I saw below them a people who wore multicolored clothes of light, so that in the world I had never seen the likes of such beautiful clothes. And all shone like the moon and the sun in their places, and they were all happy together. I asked Surūš the truthful: "Who are these people?" Surūš the truthful answered: "These are the people who have done *nau-zūdī* in that world, and worshiped water and fire, and attained their places and positions. Thus now in this manner they are so happy because they have attained to their places." When I saw them, because of the happiness of that place where they were rejoicing, I desired to stay with them. Surūš the truthful said: "It is not your time to stop in this place, because many people are waiting to hear from you, and you must return to that world again to inform them, so that they will [adhere] to the good religion of the *dīn-i bih-i mazdayasnān* (pure religion of the Mazda-worshipers) and be without doubts."

[The Sixteenth Episode]

The Description of Seeing the Place of the Kings

When I had passed that place, I saw a crowd dressed in new garments, coming and going anywhere they desired just like the angels, and they had no need to walk but proceeded with their feet in the air. They were covered with pearls and jewels from head to foot, and a feeling of their awe and statesmanship emerged from there. I was surprised by their gloriousness and esteem. I asked Surūš the truthful: "Who are these people, because of whose dignity and magnificence I felt a fear come into my heart." Surūš the truthful replied: "These are the souls of the kings who were just and fair. Because their commands were obligatory for every one in that world, so also in this

world they are the kings of paradise. They come and go wherever they desire, and there is nothing better than their souls, because as long as they were in that world, they were just and held back injustice and oppression from the common people at all times. And they have their share and part in every good deed that has been done in the seven climes of the earth. Consequently, their souls are as honorable and glorious as you see." And in my sight they were very good indeed and glorious and splendid. And I showed reverence to them and declared: "O happy is the king who was just, so that his soul will reach such a splendid and glorious rank and position".

[The Seventeen Episode]

The Description of the Position of the *dastūr*s and the *mūbad*s

When I passed beyond that place, I ascended to a place where I saw a crowd who were all seated and each one had four cushions, and the Holy Immortals [142b] strewed [good things] upon them at every moment. And they reflected glory and magnificence. And when Surūš the truthful approached them, all of them stood up, and Surūš the truthful soothed them and honored them and said: "Is there any wish which has not been fulfilled? [If not] tell me so that I [can] request it of Ohrmazd and he will grant you these wishes." They prostrated themselves and said: "Whatever we need has been provided, and we are all the time in the midst of comfort and ease, the gifts of God, and these are due to your glory and magnificence." Then I asked Surūš the truthful: "Who are these people with such splendor and fortune, that one would imagine that each one is a Holy Immortal, seated on his throne in dignity and majesty?" and Surūš the truthful said: "These are the souls of the *dastūr*s, the *mūbad*s, the [spiritual] masters, and the judges for whom I was the intercessor, so that Ohrmazd the creator worked his generosity for them. He has granted them this dwelling-place with such honor, glory and luminosity. Every judge and authority who judges justly in that world, and takes circumstances into consideration and gives due respect to kindness and tenderness, I shall be his intercessor and provider of fees. And each authority who judges according to bribe or bias, I will be his enemy in this world. And God has entrusted them to me." I prayed and passed beyond that place.

[The Eighteenth Episode]

Seeing the Position of Women who obeyed their Husbands

I arrived at a place and saw the souls of some women who were dressed in gold brocade garments, with all their robes studded with pearls, rubies and other precious stones. On each woman's head a bejeweled crown had been placed. And they were all enwrapped in long gowns and sables inlaid with jewels and pearls. And they were walking gracefully, coquettishly playing and laughing in paradise. When I saw how nice those women were, each one

better than the other, and how they came towards me [?], with all the gold, silver and precious stones and the playful friendliness they showed each other in that they placed an arm around each other's neck [thus exhibiting] the enjoyment and pleasure they had together, I felt a fear that I would lose my reason and wisdom. I asked Surūš the truthful: "Who are these women that the Most High God has held to be worthy of all this beneficence?" Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal replied: "These are the souls of the women who obeyed their husbands in that world and did not reject their husbands' command and have held their husbands' hearts as their own and have not abandoned their husbands' bed, and have not preferred another man to their husbands. And they have honored fire and water as far as possible. And they have fulfilled all the religious duties that were their responsibility. For the sin of menstruation and the terror of the sepulcher they have prayed *davāzdah humāst ābān*. And they have been content with what God has granted their husbands. And they have done housekeeping. And they have not been double-minded and keepers of separate purses, and their husbands have been pleased with them. Thus now their souls are as joyful and pure as you see. And whatever they need, the Most High God has granted them. Consequently, they are so cheerful because they have preserved themselves from all sins. "When I saw how good they were, I was glad and said a prayer for them and then passed beyond that place.

[The Nineteenth Episode]

The Arrival of Ardāy-Vīrāf at the Place of People who have performed the Worship

Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal took my hand and led me to each place. We arrived at a place [143a] in which, when I looked, I saw the souls above the sky, in the very uppermost part of Paradise, who had been seated above everyone else, and all the Holy Immortals were seated in front of them. I saw that their place was such that sweet basil and royal basil of different colors grew there. They had on golden and silver garments of silk. And I saw running streams and [heard] songbirds. They were seated in the midst of fortune and comfort. The spring oil was put in front of them, and they were [full of] merriment and joy. I asked Surūš the truthful: "Who are these people so full of merriment and joy?" Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal said: "These are the souls of those persons who have commissioned worship in that world. And they have done prayers for *hamā-dīn* and *davāzdah humāst ābān*. And, they have commanded *gītī-xarīd* and *zinda-ravān*, [and] others similar to those they have commissioned. They have performed worship on their own and they have been *hīrbad*s. They have recognized the Holy Immortals and have revered them. And now the Holy Immortals are sitting before them and encouraging them with soft words, and holding them dear, as you see. And day after day the souls of

these people become more luminous, purer and more respected, and whatever good deeds and virtues people perform they will be *hamāzūr* (i.e their partners).

[The Twentieth Episode]

Arrival at the Place of Heroes

When I passed beyond that place, I saw a crowd from whose faces glory and splendor radiated, and they displayed dignity and majesty. All of them were dressed in military uniforms, of gold and silver brocade. And golden and silver weapons had been placed near them and they were playing a game of war. And they looked very mirthful, jolly, and dignified to my eyes. I asked Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal: "Who are these people with such splendor and majesty?" They replied: "They are those persons who protected Iran against its enemies. Lest perhaps the enemy would cause damage to the country, they constantly endured physical toil. Now they enjoy the comfort and ease that you see." Those souls were very excellent in my view, because of their comfort.

[The Twenty-first Episode]

Arrival at the Place of those who have killed xrafstarān (noxious insects)

And when we had passed beyond them, I saw other people who were seated in their places. There were gardens, orchards and fruit trees and sweetly singing birds. I saw streams with running water in which there were rubies and pearls instead of sand and pebbles. And gold and silver fish were swimming in those streams. And at the edge of the streams stood musicians composing songs for the birds and other melodies. And another group was dancing the dance of *Dast-band* in front of them. I asked Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal: "Who are these people to whom the Most High God has granted so much comfort, fortune and joyfulness?" They said: "These are the people who have killed noxious creatures and other insects and many beasts in that world. They were continuously diligent in killing noxious insects. Now, they have been promoted to this rank which you see." When I saw how cheerful they were, I said: "I should be constantly occupied with killing noxious insects and perhaps my soul could attain to such [143b] a place of rank which would be so honorable."

[The Twenty-second Episode]

Arriving at and Seeing the Place of Farmers

Then we passed beyond that place and went up to another place. I saw lands

[covered] with a thousand herbs and more flourishing than the land with sweet basil, where the fragrance of musk, ambergris and camphor came from those trees, and [there were] citron, sour orange, lemon and jasmine trees as well as various other fruit trees. And I saw women [who were] all dressed in multi-colored painted garments with golden crowns on their heads, and they were standing in front of those people. And there were musicians [standing] around them. I saw them and I was surprised and I said: "Each group that I see is more beautiful and happier than the others." I asked Surūš the truthful: "Who are these people who are so honored and live in such comfort and blessing." Surūš the truthful answered: "These people were the farmers who sowed and tilled in that world and made the earth flourish, and planted all kinds of trees, and cultivated corn and barley. Now they are being remunerated in this place. And the women standing in front of them are the spirits of the earth who have made the earth flourish. And Ohrmazd the creator has placed the earth under the protection of Isfandārmad amšāspand (Isfandārmad the Holy Immortal). They have made the earth flourish, have been righteous, and have not committed treason. Therefore, Isfandārmad the Holy Immortal has held them in esteem for their goodness just as you see." When I saw those people, I prayed to Isfandārmad the Holy Immortal and said: "Blessed is he who cares for you and you are his supporter, so that you bestow these thrones on him."

[The Twenty-third Episode]

Arrival at the Place of the Shepherds

Afterwards we passed beyond that place. I saw another crowd for whom thrones had been arranged and royal garments had been spread about. I imagined that those places, mansions, and houses had each been built of a different color and material, one was made of ruby, another of pearl, one of emerald, one of diamond, and one of crystal. And a throne had been placed in each house, and each individual was seated separately on a throne in accordance with his own wish or desire. And before each of them a horse was standing with a bejeweled and golden saddle. And they had thrust their heads forward with pride and were elevated because of their virtues. And when I saw those people, I was astonished by such respect and majesty. And their pride was pleasing to me. I asked Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal "Who are these people who have such pride and dignity?" Surūš the truthful said, "They are persons who were shepherds in that world and have kept sheep, and who did not allow them to run short of water and grass to eat. They protected them against the thief, the wolf, and the bandit, and from the cold and the heat. And they have shared their milk and oil charitably with mendicants and deserving poor men. And as much as they were able they strove to act righteously and not to betray people. They honored every stranger they met in the desert and gave him food. Now their souls are

in the peace and comfort that you see. But, O Ardāy-Vīrāf, I advise you that you should say to people that it is not possible to experience comfort in both worlds. And that world is a place of hirelings, and as long as they do not suffer hardship and do not finish their work, they will not be able to attain this comfort and be worthy to seek a reward, nor could they gain such comfort in this world. [144a] And one may ask for one's reward when one accomplishes one's duty. If they do not work and do not suffer pain, then they should not covet rewards. How, then, is greed? Think for yourself and suppose that someone who has lived in peace and comfort for fifty years, then one day he meets with misfortune either through tyrants or of his own doing. He will forget those fifty years of ease. He will weep and moan over that one day of difficulty that has happened to him, and the fifty years of abundance will be bitter to him due to that small difficulty. And no comfort will remain with him. And due to that suffering of only one day he will feel that he has suffered difficulties all his life. After [experiencing] both good and bad, know that in the end things should be better. Now, these people were shepherds and you should consider how much trouble they put up with in that world? In the unpopulated desert where these people lived alone they have continually had fear in their hearts because of the thief, the bandit and the wolf. And on the nights when it was snowing and it was so cold that it was impossible to put one's head outside the hole, they protected [their] sheep from wolves and other dangers, and they have taken that suffering upon themselves. Consequently now those difficulties have come to an end, and they have achieved the happiness and comfort that you see. Then why should people be proud of that length of their lives and for some few days of comfort mixed with suffering, and for this pain give up their lives? And then, finally, all must be given up and be eternally punished, because there is no comfort in that world unless there has been difficulty either before or after that. Now [take] for example the pleasure of eating bread, unless one has suffered the pain of hunger one cannot appreciate that pleasure. And again [take] the pleasure of resting the body; unless one has previously suffered the pain of hard work one cannot appreciate that pleasure. It is like this with all the comforts of the world. All pleasures are mixed with pain, and all will be there for you, and many other sorrows as well will be added to yours. For example, you must have a horse so that you will not need to walk. When you acquire the horse, you will need someone to take care of the horse, to bring [it] water and give [it] barley and fodder. And when you are responsible for someone, you will be worried about how to feed and dress him. And you will always be involved with him. For example, someone wishes for a child from the Most High God, and the Most High God grants him the child. He will always be filled with worries, because it must have bread and other things. And when the child grows up, he will be worried about books and his education. And he will always be afraid [saying], "I am afraid that he will become ill or die, or else he will suffer from something. And if he dies, that

will [cause] so much sorrow that the parents will never get over it, and they will not be happy even for a day." And this is the way of the world. And no one will be satisfied with what he has. This is the way of the world. And the more a person accumulates, the more he must have. For example, if someone has a fortune, he will be always worried about it, and he will be afraid that the tyrant king will take it away from him, and he is afraid that the thief will steal it from him, and he is afraid that the talebearer will tell tales about his fortune. He continuously hides it in this small hole or that one, and he spends his lifetime in so much fear and [144b] fright. And in the end it must be left where it is, or it must be given as daily bread to needy men and be taken away from husband and wife. He will suffer for [his] wealth in that world, and will be in pain and torment in this world. Therefore, Vīrāf, you should admonish people to look to the end and to be discerning about matters of the world." And he said these words and we left that crowd of people.

[The Twenty-fourth Episode]

The Arrival of Ardāy-Vīrāf at the Place of the Husbandmen

We ascended to another place. I saw a crowd of people clothed in beautiful garments, and the spirits of water and fire, and the spirits of the earth and plants and herbs and trees stood before them. And the former were inclining on brocade pillows like kings. Musk and ambergris were being burnt before them. And the gods were rejoicing in front of them and were encouraging them to play together. I asked Surūš the truthful: "Who are these people who are of such high rank that the Holy Immortals take such pains with them, and heed their wishes?" Surūš the truthful said: "They are the people who in that world were the husbandmen of villages, and cultivated the land, and laid out gardens and kitchen-gardens, they commissioned the digging of irrigation canals and built many houses and edifices, and they have furthered the construction of buildings. Now all the spirits and the fire are satisfied with them and are standing in front of them. They have respected the gods in that world and the gods reward them in this world." They were very honorable in my view.

[The Twenty-fifth Episode]

Arrival of Ardāy-Vīrāf at the Place of the Jādangūyān (Intercessors)

Then we left that place and arrived at another place. I saw a crowd of people who were shining like the sun and the moon. Because of the brightness of their faces that place was such that I thought it was the sun. They were dressed in clothes of light. And they were coming and going in the air [and] they were amusing themselves just like birds in flight. I supposed that they were all fifteen years old, and I saw that there was not a trace of grief in their

hearts. But all of them were busy with their own interests, and were cheerful, joyful and pleased. And I asked Surūš the truthful: "Who are these people whose shining light has made me happy, because each one is shining like the sun and the moon?" Surūš the truthful said: "These are the people who in that world were intercessors for the poor and the needy and the *rad*s (religious leaders), and they were the *hīrbad*s and the *dastūr*s, and they have established *Ādarān* and fires. And they have collected relief funds from people for strangers, afflicted men, infants and orphans and have sent it to them. Now they have attained the luminosity and high position which you see." When I looked upon that happiness and that light from that place, the many sweet basils, each of which had a different color and fragrance, and I saw the flowing streams like rose-water and houses each built of different jewels, and I saw the high multi-colored illuminated palaces, I became so eager and desirous of that place, that I said [to myself] "I will stay in this place", because it was extremely grand and splendid in my heart, and I did not wish to come away from there. Then, Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal took me by the hand and led me from that place.

[The Twenty-sixth Episode]

The Arrival of Ardāy-Vīrāf at the Bridge and Observing the Condition of the Inhabitants of Hell and Sinners

And we reached a place where I saw a river with dark and fetid water as black as oil. The water was as deep as nine lances. And at the bottom of the water I saw that the souls were crossing the river with difficulty. [145a] Many of the souls had been submerged in the middle of the river and were asking the other souls to give them protection, but no one heeded their cries for help. There were many souls who were groaning and clamoring and crying out like someone who has been bitten by a viper, that he could not cross there and that he had been forcibly thrown in. And many passed over even more abjectly. When I saw such things, and the terror, dread and fear, and the groaning and weeping, I wished to give them protection. I asked Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal: "Who are these people who are crossing over the river with such difficulty? And what is this black water?" Surūš the truthful said: "This river has been accumulated from the tears of people's eyes that have been shed after their deaths. And the more anyone weeps, mourns and laments for the dead, the more difficult it will be for him [the deceased]. These that you see who have become submerged and ask for protection but whom no one helps are those people who in that world have lamented, wept and mourned much. Consequently, the souls of their children are punished here. Therefore, when you go [back] to that world, tell people, 'If you have pity on these souls and you do not wish for them to suffer pain and not be captives in this punishment because of your deeds, then they should do charitable deeds for the sake their souls and celebrate consecrated

bread, so that their souls will find comfort, and they should not lament and mourn because they [the souls] will suffer distress.'"

[The Twenty-seventh Episode]

Arrivial at and Sighting of the Condemned Soul on the Bridge

Then Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal led me onto the Chinvad Bridge. I saw a soul whose life had left its body [recently] and was seated beside the body and was saying these words: "Woe is to me, what shall I do and where shall I go and who may I ask to assist me, who will come to my rescue because I am helpless and without support or shelter? And I have no companion with me. I am all alone and without a guide." And he was saying these words and was looking at the body and was mourning and wailing. On the first night he suffered more pain and difficulty than he had ever experienced in the world. And Āhirman and the daemons were struggling at that very place to lead him into Hell. And he was afraid of them just like the sheep fears the wolf. That soul suffered more pain and torture in those three nights and days than the inhabitants of hell have in a period of one thousand years. And after three nights and days, at dawn I saw that soul reach the Chinvad Bridge, unlucky, having suffered much pain, dread, blows, fear, torture, and difficulties. I felt a wind that blew on him from the middle of Hell, called *vāxtar* (north) wind. No one had ever experienced such a fetid and unpleasant wind; in fact the Holy Immortals left that place because of the stench of that wind. And in the middle of that wind, I saw a figure and statue, black as tar. And its fangs stuck out [and it had] long claws and red eyes, and smoke was coming out of his mouth. And when the soul saw the figure that was so ugly, disagreeable and horrible, he wanted to run away from him. But the figure shouted saying: "You cannot run away from me."

The soul said: "Who are you who are so ugly and horrible and black that I have never seen an ugliness that is uglier and more horrible than you?" It said: "I am your acts and your deeds. And because you have been ill-intentioned, of evil deed and unfaithful to your promises, thus I am those evil deeds of yours."

The soul said: "Why you are so ugly, horrible and black?"

It said: "Because while people in that [145b] world were busy working and doing virtuous deeds and striving to make provisions so that in this world they would be saved from the tortures of hell, you meanwhile were trying legally or illegally to accumulate wealth, which now should not be called "wealth" (*māl*) but "snake" (*mār*). And that wheat (*gandum*) you acquired to sell at a profit should now be called "scorpion" (*gažduhm*). And others have taken [your] wealth and wheat, and the snakes and scorpions are hanging on to your self, your liver, and they will sting you until the resurrection of the final body, you will not be relieved of their stings for an hour. O

what an unfortunate man you were! For as long as you were in that world, you were the kind of person who would close the doors of your home when strangers arrived, and you would not even set out two pieces of bread for him. And whenever you saw people who commissioned the celebration of the liturgy and they themselves worshiped, you said to them: ‘Today I must be superior (*tafavvuqī*) to others, for how can I know what will come tomorrow?’ Now, all of that has been lost and eternal punishment has come. You were unlucky in becoming immersed in the world. And you saw others who were young like you and who died. They had had that ambition in their hearts until they were taken to the tomb of the dead and you were afraid and [even] felt a little panic. Then you forgot everything again and you became busy with worldly matters. It is like sheep when a wolf has seized one and taken it away; as long as the wolf is visible, the other sheep look out for him, but when the wolf is out of sight, they become busy grazing again. Now all is gone and you are left here in the hands of Āhirman and the daemons. And for this you will have more torture from the daemons. As long as people in the world are occupied with evil actions every day I will become uglier and more dreadful and will inflict more torture.” And he held him by the neck. And the Chinvad Bridge turned to the side that was like a razor blade. And when he set his foot on the bridge, it was so hard that you would have thought it was a razor and a sword. And, when he had gone a short distance, he fell upside down into hell. When I saw that, I had pity on him.

[The Twenty-eighth Episode]

Arrival at the Position and Place of the Inhabitants of Hell

Then Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal took me by the hand [and] followed that wicked soul. When we had gone a few steps, there [came] a more chilly, unpleasant, and fetid wind than any description of stench that I have ever heard of in the world. When we went farther ahead, I saw such darkness that one could have been grasped it with one’s hand. And I felt such fetid odors that I fainted every time I inhaled. I saw a place like a black well from which thick smoke came out. I saw that it was so narrow that one could only enter with difficulty. And I saw the inhabitants of hell, each one seated in a cave in the dark and the darkness of the place was so dense that each person could imagine that he was imprisoned there alone, and that no one except him was so afflicted. They were tortured and sad and shouted loudly. However, not one [of them] came to the help of [any] of the others, because there was darkness all around them and there was no way to come out. It was like a well where each one was punished and tortured in this manner. Each newly arrived soul who came into that place supposed that the place was a mountain, because they [snakes and scorpions] were all asleep one [on top of] the other. And the wicked soul was thrown into the

center. And the one stung him, and the other one tore him to pieces and bit him just as a wolf eats bones.

[The Twenty-ninth Episode]

Arrival at the Place of the Sodomites

Afterwards, Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal led me with ease [146a] into that dark place. When I looked I saw souls whose bodies were like the body of a snake and heads like the head of men, and they were walking in hell in this manner. I asked Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal: "Whose souls are these who are like a snake?" Surūš the truthful said: "These are the souls of sodomites and debauchees who have indulged in sodomy and debauchery in that world. Now, their souls are snake-like."

[The Thirtieth Episode]

Arrivial at and Sight of a Woman who did not care properly for her menses

And we left that place and we reached another place. I saw the soul of a woman who held a bowl full of the blood and feces in her hands. And she was beaten with a stick and was frightened and out of fear she was eating it. And, when she had eaten [it] up, they filled [the bowl] again and frightened her once more until she ate it again. Then I asked Surūš the truthful: "What sin has this woman committed?" Surūš the truthful said: "In that world this woman was not careful at the time of her menses, and she did not tend to herself, and approached water and fire and has spread the uncleanliness of menstruation. Now, she is a captive of this severe torment, dread and fear."

[The Thirty-first Episode]

Arrival at the Place of the Soul of a Man who killed a Righteous Man

We passed that place and reached another place. I saw the soul of a man who had been hung up by one leg. And, they were flaying the skin of his head with a knife, and he was shouting and crying. And, they were flaying him in that manner and he was shouting and crying for help. And I asked Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal: "What sin has this man committed?" Surūš the truthful said: "This man is the one who has killed a righteous man. Now, they are demanding retribution from him."

[The Thirty-second Episode]

Arrival at the Place of a Man who had Sexual Intercourse with a Woman during her menses

We passed beyond that place and arrived at another place. I saw the soul of a man who had been thrown down and they were filling his mouth with the menstrual blood of women and the man begged for protection. And I asked Surūš the truthful: “What sin has this man committed?” Surūš the truthful said: “He has had sexual intercourse with a woman during her menses. Now he is being punished for it.”

[The Thirty-third Episode]

The Arrival of Ardāy-Vīrāf at the Place of People who did not fasten the kuštī (sacred girdle)

We passed that place and reached another place. I saw the soul of a man who shouted and said: “I am dying of hunger. For God’s sake give me bread and water.” And he was tearing the skin and flesh of his body and eating [them]. I asked Surūš the truthful: “What sin has this man committed?” Surūš the truthful said: “These are the people who in that world did not tie the *kustī* (sacred girdle) and they were the ones who went running about with one shoe and they have eaten bread, water and fruits while speaking [and] they did not recite the *vāj* and Xwardād amšāspand (Xwardād the Holy Immortal) and Murdād amšāspand (Murdād the Holy Immortal) were offended by them. Now they are being punished in that they are dying of hunger and thirst.”

[The Thirty-fourth Episode]

Arrival at the Place of a Woman who was a Prostitute

And we passed beyond that place. We went up to another place. I saw the soul of a woman who was suspended by her breasts, and snakes, scorpions, and other vermin were swiftly biting and tearing her, and she was crying for help. I asked Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal: “What sin did this woman commit?” They replied: “This woman left her husband and become a prostitute in that world. Now she is being punished in this sign.”

[The Thirty-fifth Episode]

Arrival at the Place of People who were sinful

And after that, we passed beyond that place and reached another place. I saw a crowd of people who were being torn [apart] and eaten by vermin, biting insects, wolves, lions, snakes and scorpions. I asked Surūš the truthful

[146b] and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal: “What sin did these people commit?” Surūš the truthful said: “They are the people who in that world did not tie the sacred girdle and they are those who have walked about with one boot on and those who made water standing up. Now all of them are being punished in the same way.”

[The Thirty-sixth Episode]

The Arrival of Ardā at the Place of a Woman who did not obey the commands of her Husband

And we passed that place and we went on to another place. I saw the soul of a woman who was suspended upside down and her tongue had been pulled out at the nape [of her neck]. I asked Surūš the truthful: “What sin did this woman commit?” Surūš the truthful said: “This woman talked back to her husband, and did not obey her husband’s command and whatever her husband said she answered him insolently. She despised her husband, and cursed her husband. She is being submitted to the punishment that you see.”

[The Thirty-seventh Episode]

Arrival at the Place of a Man who shortweighted the items he sold

We passed that place and reached another place. I saw the soul of a man who went with a bucket and weighed soil and vermin and ate them. And each time he ate less they beat him with a stick so that he would eat again. I asked Surūš the truthful: “What sin did this man commit?” Surūš the truthful said: “In that world, this man kept his weight and balance two times less and his [bushel] basket two times less than [stipulated] by law. The milk he sold to others was mixed with water. Now they are subjecting him to this punishment because of the many things that he stole from people through deception and lies.

[The Thirty-eighth Episode]

The Arrival of Ardā at the Place of the Tyrant Kings

Then we passed that place and reached another place. I saw the soul of a man who had been suspended. And seventy daemons were standing [there], each one holding a viper in his hand and beating him [with it]. The vipers were biting and tearing away the flesh from his limbs. He was shrieking. I asked Surūš the truthful: “What sin did this man commit?” Surūš the truthful said: “In that world this man was a cruel king and an oppressor. He engaged in extortion against the people. And his people suffered because of him. He wounded, beat, and tortured his people. Now he is receiving this punishment that you see.”

[The Thirty-ninth Episode]

The arrival of Ardā at the Place of the Talebearer

And we passed beyond there and arrived at another place. I saw the soul of a man whose tongue had fallen out of his mouth. And snakes and scorpions were suspended to his tongue and pulling it and eating it. I asked Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal: “What sin did this man commit?” Surūš the truthful said: “This man was a talebearer in that world and embroiled people in quarrels and caused warfare and hostility between people. Now they are giving him his punishment.”

[The Fortieth Episode]

The Arrival of Ardāy-Vīrāf at the Place of the one who killed Animals

And we passed beyond there and reached another place. I saw the soul of a man whose limbs were being dismembered and he was shouting. I asked Surūš the truthful: “What sin did this man commit?” Surūš the truthful said: “This is the soul of one who unjustly killed many quadrupeds and animals in that world.”

[The Forty-first Episode]

Arrival at the Place of a Man who accumulated Wealth and Riches but did not use it for Religion

When we passed beyond that place and reached another place I saw the soul of a man who was being tortured from head to foot. And a thousand daemons were guarding him. And each moment they submitted him to a new [form of] torture. And, under the [pressure of] the torture he was shouting and crying out. I asked Surūš the truthful: “Who is this man whose punishment is so harsh?” [147a] Surūš the truthful said: “He was a miserly-minded individual during his lifetime, and he accumulated a great deal of wealth and riches, but he did not use it for himself nor did he give to others, nor distribute it for worshiping the gods nor did he divide it among virtuous and worthy men. He accumulated it, piled it up and saved it. Now others have taken his wealth and [only] this punishment and torture remain for this ill-fated one.” I commiserated very much with his soul because he was tormented in this world and the next.

[The Forty-second Episode]

Arrival at the Place of Idlers

And then we passed beyond that place and arrived at another place. I saw the

soul of a man whose whole body was in hell except for one foot which was outside. And the vermin were not inflicting bites on that one foot. I asked Surūš the truthful:” Whose soul is this?” Surūš the truthful: “This is the soul of a man whose name was Davānūs. He was so lazy that he had never done a good deed except for his one foot; it once kicked some grass in front of a sheep. Now as a reward for that his one foot is outside of hell, and all the rest of his body is in hell and the vermin are eating [it].

[The Forty-third Episode]

Arrival at the Place of Liars

And we passed beyond that place and we reached another place. I saw the soul of a man whose tongue had been pulled out of his mouth, and a stone had been placed under it, and they were pounding on top of his tongue with another very large stone. I asked Surūš the truthful: “What sin did this man commit?” Surūš the truthful said: “This is the soul of a liar. And because of the lies this man used to tell many people were caused anguish and many people experienced injury.”

[The Forty-fourth Episode]

Arrival at the Place of a Woman who injured the Fetus and then aborted it

Then we left there and went on to another place. I saw the soul of a woman who was digging in a mountain with her breasts. Every hour a millstone was rolled over her breasts, and her breasts were being crushed to pieces, and the woman was crying out. I asked Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal: “What sin did this woman commit?” they replied: “This woman injured the fetus and then aborted it.”

[The Forty-fifth Episode]

Arrival at the Place of one who has given Evidence Falsely

Then we passed beyond that place. We reached another place. I saw the soul of a man whose limbs were being eaten by worms. I asked Surūš the truthful: What sin did this man commit?” Surūš the truthful said: “This man has given false witness, and because of it the wealth of the virtuous has become the daily sustenance of the unworthy. His fortune has been taken away by others, but this miserable one has been left to undergo this punishment.”

[The Forty-sixth Episode]

Arrival at the Place of a Man who accumulated Prohibited Wealth

We passed beyond that place and arrived at another place. I saw the soul of a man who was eating the brain of a corpse. I asked Surūš the truthful: “What sin did this man commit?” Surūš the truthful said: “This man amassed prohibited possessions and wealth. Now he has left the riches and wealth in [their] place and he is being punished here; he is alone, helpless and forlorn.”

[The Forty-seventh Episode]

The Arrival of Ardā at the Place of the Hypocrite

Then we passed beyond that place and arrived at another place. I saw a crowd of people whose bodies were putrefied, and their faces had turned yellow and there were worms in their limbs, and the worms came out of their limbs. I asked Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal: “Who are these people who have become like this?” They said: “These are the souls of heretics and hypocrites who have held something in their hearts but have orally declared something else. And they have deceived [147b] people, and caused them to turn away from the way of the *dīn-i bih-i mazdayasnān* (pure religion of the Mazda-worshipers) to other beliefs and they have made manifest bad faiths and religions in the world.” Thus they spoke and we passed from that place.

[The Forty-eighth Episode]

Arrival at the Place of one who killed Dogs

We reached another place. I saw the soul of a man who was being torn apart by a dog, and piece after piece was thrown in front of him, and all the members of his body were being dismembered one from the other, and he was shouting and crying. I asked Surūš the truthful: “What sin did this man commit?” Surūš the truthful said: “This is the soul of a man who killed beavers, sheepdogs and watchdogs. He did not feed his dog nor did he take good care of him. Now he is undergoing the punishment that you see.”

[The Forty-ninth Episode]

Arrival at the Place of a Woman who did not properly dispose of her nails and hair

And afterwards we left that place and reached another place. I saw the soul of a woman who was surrounded by guardians. They had grasped her by the hair and were pulling her in the ice and snow and beating her with a stick. I asked Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal: “What sin did

this woman commit?" They said: "This woman combed her hair over the fire and threw [strands] into the fire and did not properly dispose of her nails. And she sat over the fire whilst having no underwear."

[The Fiftieth Episode]

Arrival at the Place of the female Witches

And then we left that place and we reached another place. I saw a woman who was cutting off the flesh of her body with a knife and eating [it]. I asked Surūš the truthful: "What sin did this woman commit?" Surūš the truthful said: "This woman practiced magic and taught witchcraft. She herself would do it and she told others to do it for her. She was occupied with this."

[The Fifty-first Episode]

Arrival at the Place of a Man who did not properly dispose of filth

And then we passed by that place and reached another place. I saw the soul of a man who was being given human blood, flesh and excrement to eat. I asked Surūš the truthful: "What sin did this man commit?" Surūš the truthful said: "This man did not take proper care with excrement, corpses, filth, hair, and nails in that world; a little was left which fell into the water and the fire. His body was unclean and dirty, and he did not undergo the *baršnūm* (the major purification ritual) and in that way he died unclean."

[The Fifty-second Episode]

The Arrival of Ardāy-Vīrāf at another Place

And then we passed beyond that place and reached another place. I saw the soul of a man who was eating the flesh and skin of people, and he was shouting and crying. I asked Surūš the truthful: "What sin did this man commit?" Surūš the truthful said: "This man took back the wages of hired laborers, and stole people's profits."

[The Fifty-third Episode]

Arrival at the Place of a man who committed Adultery with someone else's wife

Then we left that place and went on to another place. I saw a man who was carrying a mountain on his back and walked in pain. He tried to stop, but they frightened him so that he went on walking laboriously and with pain. I asked Surūš the truthful: "What sin did this man commit?" Surūš the truthful said: "This man committed adultery with other pepole's wives; he seduced other pepole's wives."

[The Fifty-fourth Episode]

The Arrival of Ardāy-Vīrāf at the Place of the People who went to the Bathhouse in a state of defilement

And then we left that place and reached another place. I saw a crowd of people all of whom were sitting in ice and frozen up to their necks; a bowl full of human blood and human hair had been placed in front of each one. And they were beaten until they ate it. I asked Surūš the truthful: “What sin did these people commit?” Surūš the truthful said: [148a] “These people went to the bath-house as unbelievers. And Isfandārmad the Holy Immortal and the god of fire and water were injured by them because they have defiled their souls.”

[The Fifty-fifth Episode]

Arrival at the Place of a Man who has seized People’s Land

Then we went past that place and we reached another place. I saw the soul of a man upon whose back a mountain had been placed, and he was shouting and crying beneath the mountain. I asked Surūš the truthful: “What sin did this man commit?” Surūš the truthful said: “He imposed a heavy tax on people’s land and devised new ones, so that people became refugees in their native villages and homes and fell into poverty. Because of the heavy tax they were not able to stay on their own lands.

[The Fifty-sixth Episode]

Ardāy-Vīrāf’s Arrival at the Place of a Man who stole the Land of the People

Then we passed beyond that place and reached another place. I saw the soul of a man who was digging a mountain with his nails. And guardians were standing beside him and they were beating him with vipers, and he was shouting. I asked Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal: “What sin did this man commit?” They replied: “He has tampered with the boundaries of people’s land and added to the boundaries of his own land. As long as that land remains there they will punish him in this way over and over again.

[The Fifty-seventh Episode]

Ardāy-Vīrāf’s Arrival at the Place of the Man who broke his Promise and Contract

And then we passed beyond that place and reached another place. I saw the soul of a man the flesh of whose body was being scratched by an iron comb just like hair being combed by a comb, and he was crying and lamenting.

And, I asked Surūš the truthful: “What sin did this man commit?” Surūš the truthful said: “This man untruthfully made a promise, treaty and promised protection and then broke his promise.”

[The Fifty-eighth Episode]

The Arrival of Ardā at the Place of people who committed breach of contract

And then we left that place and reached another place. I saw souls who were being struck with arrows and stones. And I asked Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal: “What sin did these people commit?” They said: “They have all committed breach of contract, either with coreligionists or with unbelievers. They thought that it would not be a sin to commit breach of contract with unbelievers. They did not know that it is the same to commit breach of contract with coreligionists or with unbelievers. Thus until now they have been undergoing this kind of punishment.”

[The Fifty-ninth Episode]

Ardāy-Vīrāf’s Arrival back at the Luminous Paradise

And then Surūš the truthful and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal brought me out of that dark and narrow place and led me to *garūṯmān* (Paradise).

[The Sixtieth Episode]

Ardāy-Vīrāf’s Arrival at the Audience-hall of the Most High God

And when I reached that place, I saw the glory and increasing magnificence of Ohrmazd the Creator. And however much I tried to pay homage to the glory and splendor of God, I remained stupefied and incapable; I could not say a word. I heard a voice [saying]: “O Ardāy-Vīrāf, turn back and go to your own city, because some people are anxious about you. For seven days and nights no one has rested, and they are listening to hear what message you will bring. Whatever you have seen, tell the whole truth! Be careful not to tell lies, because I see you in person!”

And when I heard that voice, I prostrated myself and then, because of the luminosity, I could not see anything more.

And then I heard again the voice which was saying: “O Ardāy-Vīrāf, tell the people that there is [only] one right way in the world, and every other way except that one lead one astray! And tell people that they should never turn their backs on religion, not when wealth and gifts are plentiful and not when they are in affliction and pain! They should not turn their back to the religion and constantly [148b] keep the faith and true intention and be of good thought and good deed. And they should keep their hearts steadfast and undoubting in the religion of Ohrmazd of Good Increase and the

prophethood of Zarathustra Sfantamān; and that is beneficence. And, say to others: "Do not forget the pure religion of the Mazda-worshipers in this world and in that world, and don't refrain from it! Tomorrow repentance is of no benefit and you will not be born again to exercise virtue in order to gain rewards. And wake up from your sleep of neglect!"

These were the conditions as demonstrated by the Most High God.

May God keep us from all misfortunes and punishments, and maintain us in the good and pure religion of the Mazda-worshipers. May He keep the evil of Āhirman away from me and may He preserve us from being ashamed among people. May the magic of Āhirman and the accursed Daemons not come in our way, because the good and evil of this world will come to an end. If it were good and if it were bad, it will not last, and sorrow and repentance will not be profitable in the Other World.

I am penitent and regretful, *ajaš* and *axaš*, of all the sins that I have committed intentionally or unintentionally.

The book of [*Ardāy*]-*Vīrāf Nāma* was finished on the second day of Murdād-māh-i qadīm in the year of 896 [A.Y. = 1527 A.D.].

* * *

[It was finished auspiciously and in prosperity, the editing of the Zoroastrian Persian version in prose of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, far away from the motherland and the father house, in Uppsala in Sweden, on Thursday, the day of Ohrmazd of Farvardīn, the Naurūz (new day) of the first day of the spring of the year 1377 Yazdgirdī, equal to Solar year 1387 and March twentieth of 2008 A.D.

The text was edited according to manuscript N (T.30), belonging to Meherji Rana Library, in Navsari in India, and collated with manuscript P (S.P.47), belonging to Bibliothèque Nationale, in Paris in France, N^2 (F.44), belonging to Meherji Rana Library, in Navsari in India, M (Z.73'H.28'), belonging to the Staatsbibliothek, in München in Germany, O (Bodl.Or.719), belonging to Bodleian Library, in Oxford in England, and L (No.830), belonging to British Museum Library, in London in England.

The edited text was produced with the assistance of my professors, Mrs. Carina Jahani and Mr. Bo Utas. It is my hope that it will be useful for others.

Uppsala, Dariush Kargar, son of Yaḥyā and Khadīja]

VII. Commentary

The following notes have been written to elucidate three topics; firstly, to explain the usage of variant words and terms in different manuscripts, and the reason for selecting a special word or term in an edited text; secondly, to explain the names that have been mentioned in the text; and, finally, to explain some words and terms used in the text.

The numbers at the beginning of each note refers to the number(s) of the line(s) in the Zoroastrian Persian edited text. Since the basis of this research is the Zoroastrian Persian version and its edited text, the notes and explanations refer to this text.

1. In the N manuscript, which is the original manuscript for this edition, the first line of the text is written on folio 138b. After the first line and at the beginning of the next folio (139a) a pale shadow of some words in the middle of the page can be observed. Probably, judging from the position of these words, they are an invocation of God's name. If this invocation is really a heading, it may be written in coloured ink, because it is hardly visible in the microfilm. In some other the Zoroastrian Persian texts in this same N manuscript the invocation is found as «به نام ایزد بخشاینده بخشایشگر مهربان دادگر» *ba nām-i īzad-i baxšāyanda-yi baxšāyišgar-i mihrabān-i dādgar* "In the name of the merciful, beneficent, compassionate, righteous God" (folios: 107a, 110b, 114a, 131a and 138a). This may be the formula of the invocation in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, too. However, it should be mentioned that the "invocation of God's name" has been mentioned as «به نام ایزد بخشاینده مهربان دادگر» *ba nām-i īzad-i baxšāyanda-yi mihrabān-i dādgar* "In the name of the merciful, compassionate, righteous God" in some other texts of this manuscript (folios: 151a, 219b, 228b), in which the word «بخشایشگر» *baxšāyišgar* "beneficent" is missing in comparison with the previous invocation.

The invocation of the O manuscript is found in this one manuscript only and is written as «به نام ایزد» *ba nām-i īzad* "in the name of God" which may be an identical invocation or a translation of the Parsig expressions *pad nām ī yazad* or *pad nām ī yazdān*. These are old Iranian invocations. On the other hand, it seems that the invocations like «به نام ایزد بخشاینده بخشایشگر مهربان دادگر» "In the name of the merciful, beneficent, compassionate, and righteous God" or «به نام ایزد بخشاینده مهربان دادگر» "In the name of merciful, compassionate, righteous God" are expansive translations of «بسم‌الله الرحمن الرحیم» *bismillāh-i raḥmān-i raḥīm* "In the name of Allah, the compassionate, the

merciful", which is an Arabic invocation of the name of God. However, some equivalents for these two longer invocations are also found in Parsig. For example, one can refer to the heading of *Rivāyat-i Hēmīt-i Ašwahištān*, at the beginning of the book: *pad nām ī dādār ī weh ī abzōnīg ī kirbakkar* which means "In the name of the good, bountiful, beneficent Creator" (*REA* 1980: I.1). With regard to this matter Goldziher (1909: 666-668 → Shaked 1995: XII.153-154) has written that the Arabic invocation *bismillah-i raḥmān-i raḥīm* has its origin in Jewish and Christians sources. Contrary to this, Gignoux (1979: 159-163) believes that the Arabic invocation *bismillah-i raḥmān-i raḥīm* originates from the same Iranian-Parsig *pad nām ī yazdān* (Shaked 1995: XII.159-163).

It is not possible to use the the basic manuscript N (the archetype) to establish the original reading of the "invocation of God's name" because it is not readable. On the other hand, it is not also possible to follow the reading of a majority of the manuscripts, because among these six manuscripts, the heading in five cases is readable; but among them there are not even two similar invocations. Due to this, we assume that it is possible that the "invocation of God's name" in the text of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* of manuscript N may be the same as in most texts of this manuscript «به نام ایزد بخشاینده بخشایش-گر مهربان دادگر» "In the name of merciful, beneficent, compassionate, righteous God", this invocation is preferred in the present edition.

2. The name of the work is not mentioned at the beginning of the text in manuscript N, but in the old list of contents (without page number on folio 06a) of this same manuscript, «اردای‌ویراف» "Ardāy-Vīrāf" is given as one of the works. In the new list of contents of this manuscript, following that ancient list in the microfilm, a different name of the work is given, namely: «کیفیت ارداویرا و زرتشت پیش دادار اورمزد، همپرسی شد از اول تا رستخیزِ کیفیت دین» *kaifiyyat-i ardā-vīrā va zartušt pīš-i dādār ūrmazd ham-pursī šud az avval tā rastxīz-i kaifiyyat-i dīn* "How Ardā-Vīrā and Zarathustra discussed the religion from the beginning of the creation to the resurrection in front of the righteous Ohrmazd" (3a). In fact, this is a mixture of the name of two works "The *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*" and "Zarathustra visits Ohrmazd".

3. Several works of Zoroastrian Persian literature begin with this same formulation; for example *جاماسپ‌نامه* *Jāmāsp-Nāma* (MS. 276: 1b)[164] and *عُلمای اسلام، به دیگر روش* *'ulamāy-i islām ba dīgar raviš* "The learned men of Islam, by another method" (MS.S.P.1022: 53b).

4. In all manuscripts there is an expression «در بر پیغام» *dar bar-i payġām*. Mu'īn (1946: 58) has emended that to a new expression «درود بر پیغامبر» *durūd bar paiġāmbar* "greeting to the prophet". He has done his editing ac-

[164] There are various versions of *Jāmāsp-Nāma* in different languages. The narration in this case is a Zoroastrian Persian version of which several manuscripts exist in different libraries, among them there is manuscript number 276 in National Consultative Assembly (Majlis-i šūrā-yi Millī) (I'tiṣāmī 1933: 2.92).

cording to the introduction of manuscript M (= H28), which was published by Haug and West, and has changed this expression to «درود بر پیغامبر ما» *durūd bar paġāmbar-i mā* "greeting to our prophet". But, attention must be paid to the fact that the word «ما» *mā* in this expression belongs to the next sentence, the beginning of which is «اما بعد» *ammā ba'd*, where the first word has been written as «ما» instead of «اما».

5. It is surprising to find the expression «اما بعد» *ammā ba'd* at the beginning of a Zoroastrian Persian work. This expression is not found in any other Zoroastrian Persian work, whereas it is very common right after the introduction in a great number of Iranian-Islamic works.

6. Ardašīr son of Bābak (the first Ardašīr) is the first Sasanid king who ruled between 224 and 240 A.D. and died in 242 A.D. (Wiesehöfer 1996: 316).

6-7. According to the text the ninety kings who were killed by Ardašīr were the same as the kings appointed to rule over Iran by Alexander, as mentioned in the *Bundahišn*: "Then, in this millennium, appeared Artakhstar [Ardaxšīr] son of Pābak; he killed those petty-rulers, organised the empire, promoted the Revelation of Mazdā-worship, and established many religious-usages which went down to his dynasty" (*IraBd* 1956: XXXIII.15)[165]. Tansar's letter has confirmed this as well (Mīnavī 1975: 48; Boyce 1968'c': 29): "Ardašīr seized him together with ninety other descendants of kings enthroned by Alexander. Some he put to death by the sword, others through captivity".[166] Farzāna Bahrām, the author of *Šāristān-i čahār-čaman* recalls the sovereignty of these ninety kings as well "[Alexander] divided Iran and he turned ninety persons of those in command, who were called Pādšāh (king) and in Arabic Mulūk-ul-ṭawāyif, into rulers and commanders" (Modi 1932'b': 100)[167].

8. «دستور» *dastūr* "authority", pl. «دستوران» (*dastūrān*), (Parsig: *dastwar*). *dastūr* is a Zoroastrian spiritual authority who has the authorization to judge and to pronounce religious jurisprudence. Dēnkard

8. «موبد» *mūbad*, pl. «موبدان» (*mūbadān*), (Parsig: *mowbad* or *mōbed*). *mūbad* is one of the religious authorities in Zoroastrianism. In the Sasanid period, *mūbad*s had a very powerful influence to the extent that the chief of them, *mowbad ī mowbadān* should approve the choice of the king. In addition to this, the *mowbad ī mowbadān*, was able to dethrone the king (Mīnavī

[165] *pas andar ham hazārag arda[x]šīr ī pābagān ō paydāgīh āmad ud ān kadag-xwadāyān ōzad ud xwadāyīh winārd ud dēn ī māzdēsnān rawāgēnīd ud ēwēnag ī was wirāst ī pad tōhmag ī ōy raft* (*IraBd* 1956: XXXIII.15).

[166] «اردشیر او [اردوان] را با نَوَد دیگر که از ابنای نشاندگان اسکندر بودند بگرفت، و بعضی را به شمشیر و بعضی را به حبس بکُشت» The Persian version of this work was edited by Mujtabā Mīnavī as *Nāma-yi Tansar ba Gušnasp* (1354) and translated into English by Mary Boyce under the title *The Letter of Tansar* (1968'c').

[167] «[اسکندر] ایران را متفرق گردید و نود نفر از احکام که ایشان را پادشاه و به تازی ملوک‌الطوایف گویند، حاکم و فرمانفرما گردیدانید» (Modi 1932'b': 99).

1975: 88; Boyce 1968'c': 62). Nowadays, Zoroastrians call all spiritual authorities of Zoroastrianism *mūbad* (Ūšīdarī 1992: 208).

8-28. The theme of this part and a section of the fourth book of *Dēnkard* are similar: Here Ardašīr Bābakān, guided by his minister Tūsar/Tansar, decided to gather all the dispersed teachings of the *Avesta* from every part of the country to his court. After him, Šapūr I (reign: 270-272 A.D.) son of Ardašīr, ordered various books of different sciences, that were dispersed to be collected and attached to the *Avesta*, and to make two copies of the whole work. After him, Šapūr II (reign: 309-379 A.D) son of Hūrmizd, called together all learned-men of the country to argue and do research [about various matters]. Then, he proclaimed that the knowledge about religion is already perfected, so no ill-religion [it seems that he means diverging branches of Zoroastrianism] will be accepted afterwards (*DkM* 1911: 412-413)[168].

9. «دین» *dīn* means "the religious canon of Zoroastrianism" in this line and several other lines as well, for example, 25, 26, 27, 28.

10. «زرتشت» *Zartušt* (Avestan: *Zaraθuštra-*, Parsig: *Zartušt*/*Zardušt*/*Zardu[x]št*, Greek: *Zoroaster*) is the name of the prophet of Zoroastrianism. This name has several different forms in New Persian and Zoroastrian Persian, among them: «زردشت» *Zardušt*, «زرتشت» *Zartušt*, «زردهشت» *Zardhušt*, «زرادشت» *Zarādušt* and «زراتشت» *Zarātušt*.

This name is given as *Zartušt* in line 10, and as *Zarātušt* in lines 26, 35 and 925.

10. «علیه» *'alīya* is an incorrect spelling of the word «علیّ» *'alīy* "high ranking". The original translator or the copyist of the text has probably written this word «علیّ» in the original manuscript, since '*alīy,* with vowelization like «فعیل» (fa'īl), is a masculine form of this adjective meaning high-ranking: «زرتشتِ علیّ» *zartušt-i 'alīy* "the high-ranking Zarathustra". But a later scribe, very likely due to his little knowledge of the Arabic language, has supposed that *'alīy* is a synonym of *'alīya,* so he wrote the word in this form, although *'alīya* is the feminine form of this adjective[169]. While editing the introduction of the M (H28) manuscript, Mu'īn has changed the adjective to «علیه‌السّلام» *'alay-hi-s-salām* "Peace be upon to him".

15. «شاهانشاه» *šāhān šāh* "the king of kings". This word is written as *MLKAn MLKA* (huzwārišn) in the Parsig texts, but read *šāhān šāh*. It also appears written in contracted form as *šāhānšāh* (in lines 15 and 161) and «شهنشاه» *šahanšāh* (in manuscript N^2, in the footnotes 66 and 1135).

17. «افستا» *Afistā* is the name of the sacred book of the Zoroastrians called the *Avesta*. There is no indication of the original name of the Avestan language, and the word "*Avesta*" is never mentioned in the Avestan texts either. It is mentioned as *abestāg* in Parsig, and as «اَبِستا» *abistā* and «اَبِستاق» *abistāq*

[168] This is the same function that Ardašīr son of Bābak has according to the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*.
[169] Thanks to Mr. 'Ali Muhaddis for mentioning this point to me.

in Arabic, as well as in several different forms in New Persian and Zoroastrian Persian, among them: «اوستا» *Avistā*, «وستا» *Vistā*, «افستا» *Afistā* and «بِستاه» *Bistāh* (Tafaẓẓulī 1997: 35).

17. «زند» *zand* it is equal to *Zand* in Parsig. The word *zand* means "commentary". In Zoroastrianism, *zand* means translating the *Avesta* into Parsig, which often provides a commentary as well. It might have been translated into the Parsig language in Sasanid times, probably due to the fact that the Avestan language had been forgotten. Today, the only available sections of the *Zand* of *Avesta* are *Yasna*, *Vispard*, *Widēwdād*, *Xwurdag Abestāg*, *Hērbedestān*, *Nēyrangestān* and Aogmədaēčā.

22. «پهریخته» *pahrīxta* is equal to *pahrēxtag* in Parsig, which conveys two meanings; firstly, it means "educated" and is used in the 21st line with this meaning. Another meaning of the underlying verb is "to avoid, to refrain from", used in the negative form, that is «نهپهریخته» *na- pahrīxta*, in 602nd line and all other lines in the text.

22. «منشن» *manišn* is equal to *menišnīg* in Parsig, which means "thought". «گوشن» (Parsig: *gōwišnīg*) means "Word". «کونشن» (Parsig: *kunišnīg*) means "deed".

26. «اورمزد» *Ūrmazd*, (Parsig: Ōhrmazd, New Persian and Zoroastrian Persian: «اورمزد» *ūrmazd*, «هورمزد» *hūrmazd* and «هرمز» *hurmuz*), is one of the two incipient spirits of the world, called «سپنته مینو» (Avestan *spəntō.mainyu-*) (*Yasna* XLV.2) and the creator of all goodness of the world and of the cosmos. He, who is the symbol of the light and luminosity, always fights against evil and darkness, which are the symbols of Ahriman (the Devil). On Resurrection Day, at the end of the 12 thousand years lifetime of the world, the combat will come to its end by the victory of Ohrmazd and all goodness.

26. «دینِ اورمزد» *dīn-i Ūrmazd*, means the rules established by Ohrmazd in Zoroastrianism, i.e. "the religious canon of Zoroastrianism".

29-31. «کس این خبر باز نتواند دادن الاّ آن کس که از اوّلِ عمرِ هشت سالگی تا بدان وقت که رسیده باشد، هیچ گناه نکرده باشد، و این مرد، ویراف است» *kas in xabar bāz natavānad dādan illā ān kas ki az avval-i ʻumr-i hašt-sālagī tā ba-dān vaqt ki rasīda bāšad hīč gunāh nakarda bāšad v īn mard vīrāf ast* "No one is able to provide this information except the one who has not committed a sinful deed from the beginning of his eighth year to the age he has now reached. And this man is Vīrāf". It is likely that the text is lacking some parts here. According to the text thus far, Ardašīr's motive of gathering those forty thousand men is to collect religious sayings to distinguish between pure and false, and as a result, cause diversities in Zoroastrianism to disappear. But there is no sign of sending anyone to the Other World. The final six selected ones just mention a suitable man who will bring information, whereas there is no word formerly about sending anyone who is able to bring information.

33. «یزشن» *yazišn* "worship". In manuscripts NPMO, it is written *yazišn* and *yazišn-hā* in most cases throughout the manuscript, and only in a few

cases *yaziš* and *yaziš-hā*. But in N^2 there is a total mixture of the forms *yaziš* / *yaziš-hā* and *yazišn* / *yazišn-hā*. Variants of this word have not been given in the footnotes in order to avoid too much repetition.

33. «یزشن» *yazišn* is equal to *yazišn* in Parsig. This word means "worship" and "praise". It is used in verb form as «یزشن‌ساختن» *yazišn-sāxtan* "making yazišn" (in 41 and several other lines), «یزشن کردن» *yazišn-kardan* "performing/doing yazišn" (57 and other lines) and «یزشن فرمودن» *yazišn-farmūdan* "saying yazišn" (384 and other lines).

yazišn is a kind of worshipping ceremony, performed in front of the holy fire in the fire-temple. During the ceremony, all of the 72 *Yasna* are recited by two *mūbad*s (priests).

yazišn is a general name for all worshipping rites.

33. «نیرنگ» *nairang* (Parsig: *nērang*) means "charm", "incantation" and "spell". This is the name of some stanzas of the *Avesta*, uttered as powerful words either to have an impact for healing or to break the power of the demons in Zoroastrianism. The word *nairang* means "ritual/ceremony" in Parsig as well as in Zoroastrian Persian (Boyce 1991: 284-285).

38. For «آدران» *ādarān*. The Parsis write «آذر» *āżar* and «آذران» *āżarān* (orthographically «آدر» *ādar* and «آدران» *ādarān*). This word has perhaps been in an orthographical form as *āżarān* in the original manuscript written in Iran. In Zoroastrianism, there are three kinds of fire, which by the order of importance are: Ātaš Bahrām (the fire of Bahrām), Ātaš Ādarān (the fire of Ādarān) and Ātaš Dādgāh (the fire of Dādgāh). To light Ātaš Ādarān, four kinds of home fires are used, and it is a much simpler ceremony to worship this fire than the Ātaš Bahrām (Modi 1932'a': 154-155, 162-163; Boyce 1968'b': 52). «درگاه آدران» *dargāh-i ādarān* means "the court or the threshold of Ādarān", which is, in fact, the same as "the fire place for the fire of Ādarān".

40. «آتش‌گاه» *ātašgāh*. The meaning of this word is either "the stony brazier in which they kindle the holy fire" or "fire-temple".

44. «پتفت» *pataft* (Avestan: *paitita-,* Parsig: *petīt*, New Persian and Zoroastrian Persian: *pataft* or «پِتَت» *pitat*), means "confession" and "penitence" and is written «توبَت» *taubat* in the *Ṣaddar Naṯr* (*ṢDN* 1909: LXV.1). A Zoroastrian person confesses his sins in front of a *dastūr* to purify his spirit. During the *pitat* ceremony, a *pitat* stanza must be read. There are four kinds of *petīt-nāmag* in the Zoroastrian literature in Parsig and Pazand: *petīt ī pašīmānīh* (confession for penitence) or *petīt ī Ādurbād*, *xwad petit* (confession for the self), *petīt ī ērānī* (Iranian confession), *petīt ī widardagān* (confession for the dead) or *petīt ī rawānīg* (confession for the spirit) (Widengren 1965: 265-267). All these *petīt-nāmag*s originate from the *Avesta*.

45-51. In the Parsig version, Vīrāf's sisters asks the priests not to send their brother to the Other World. Although in the Zoroastrian Persian version it is the *dastūr*s, who reply to Vīrāf's sisters, it does not seem that the sisters are talking to the *dastūr*s, since the sisters three times use a sg. second per-

son form of the verb in their statements to the person spoken to: «اکنون شما او را بدان جهان خواهی فرستاد» *aknūn šumā ū rā ba-dān jahān xwāhī firistād* "now you will send him to the Other World", and «و ما را یَسیر بهخواهی کردن» *va mā rā yasīr bixwāhī kardan* "and you will make us unprotected (*yasīr*)" and «از پدر و مادر جدا شدیم و از برادر نیزمان جدا خواهی کردن» *az pidar va mādar judā šudīm va az barādar nīz-imān judā xwāhī kardan* "we have become separated from our parents and now you will also be separate us from our brother". Due to this, it seems that they are talking to the king Ardašīr. It is true that the sisters use the plural pronoun «شما» *šumā* "you" three times in their statements, but it must be considered that they are talking to the king and therefore may not be permitted to address him by the sg. pronoun «تو» *tū*. In the poetic version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, versified by Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū, Vīrāf's sisters directly beg the king, not the *dastūr*s, to refrain from sending their brother to the Other World (Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū 1964: vv. 535-540). Haug and West hold it probable that this same prose version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* may be the original source for Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū's versification (Haug and West 1872: xix). If so, there must be a mistake on the part of the scribes not to mention the name of the king in connection with the sisters' statements.

49. «یسیر» *yasīr*. This word is not mentioned in any of the dictionaries. However, in the Persian dialect of Hamadan one whose mother has died is called *yasīr*. This word is genrally an adjunct to the word «یتیم» *yatīm* (fatherless/orphan): thus *yatīm-yasīr* means one who has lost both his father and mother, that is, one who has no one to protect him. In view of Vīrāf's sister's statement, it seems that in this context the word *yasīr* means 'lacking a protector'.

55-58. The king and the army guard the fire-temple in order to prevent any heretic or hypocrite to throw something damaging at Vīrāf.

This same theme can be found in «داستان پیداکردن کیومرث (گیومرت)» *dāstān-i paydā-kardan-i kiyūmarṯ* (*gayūmart*) "The myth of how Kiyūmarṯ (Gayūmart) was found". Ohrmazd creates the body of Gayūmart at the top of the Alburz Mountain. Then he makes seven Holy *Amšāspandān* "Immortals" (six Immortals plus Surūš or six Immortals plus Vahrām (Bahrām)?) watch it carefully, lest Ahrīman gain control over it and do something wrong or cause any damage to it which would destroy it (MS.S.P.1191: 138b-139b).

56. «آشموغ» *āšmūġ* or «اشموغ» *ašmūġ* (Parsig: *ahlamōγ*), means "heretic" or "atheist" in Zoroastrianism.

56. «منافق» *munāfiq* means "hypocrite", "a person whose words and thoughts are not as the same as that which he pretends".

57. «چیزی» the letter «ی» is used to indicate the presence of an *iẓāfa*.

60. «رویبند» *rūy-band*, "face-veil" or "mask of the mouth". This word is a translated from the Parsig word *padām* which is written in Persian «پنام» *panām*. That is a kind of textile that Zoroastrian priests cover their mouth

and nose with to prevent the holy fire from being polluted by their breath while worshipping (Bāqirī 1985: 146-153).

The word *panām* is written under the word *rūy-band* in the N² manuscript.

61. «سه‌یکی» *sih-yakī* "one third". It is written as *sih-yakī* in the NPO manuscripts. *sih-yakī* is a kind of wine that is condensed into one third, i.e. two thirds of which has evaporated and only one third of which is remaining. Compound words with this word as one element are «سیکی‌خوار» *si-yakī-xwār* (one who drinks this kind of wine), «سیکی‌خواره» *si-yakī-xwārah* (habitually drunken with this kind of wine) and «سیکی‌فروش» *si-yakī-furūš* (wine-seller, especially of this kind of wine). Another name for this kind of wine is «شراب مثلث» *šarāb-i muṯallaṯ* (Mu'īn 1984: 3.1980).

Since, during the *Yasna* ceremony, the «درون» (bread) and butter were used as symbols of the world of animals, Haug and West have read «سه» *sih* (three) as «په» *pih* like «پیه» *piyah* (fat) which they assumed was placed upon one of those *drōn*-breads. They thus supposed that this was a part of the *Yasna* worshipping ceremony and omitted the word «یکی» *yakī* (one) (Haug-West 1872: xvii).

61. «درون» *darūn* (Avestan: *draonah-*, Parsig: *drōn*) or rather «نان درون» *nān-i darūn* is a kind of sanctified bread made from wheat flour in a round shape with nine cutting lines on the surface. The ceremony in which it plays a role is also known by the same name, i.e. *darūn*.

61. «یشتن» *yaštan* (Parsig: *yaštan*) means "to pray", "to worship" "to consecrate".

61. «درون یشتن» *darūn-yaštan* "worshipping the sanctified bread". «یشتِ درون» *yašt-i darūn* is the ceremony of praying and thanksgiving to the gods, while *Yasna: hā 8*, is being sung (Boyce and Kotwal 1971: 56).

Obviously it was a custom in pre-Zoroastrian Iran to say prayers for milk and bread. According to the *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram* (The selections of *Zādspram*) when Zarathustra was a child, his father provided a bowl of milk and asked a celebrated priest called Dūrisraw to say prayers for it (*WZad* 1993: XII.2).

63. «هُمت منشنه» *humat-manišna*. *humat* (Parsig: *humat*) means "good thought", that is, one of the three fundamental principles of Zoroastrianism. *manišna* (Parsig: *menišnīg*) is a form of «منش» *maniš* "thought". Thus, *humat-manišna* means "having good thought". This word is used as «منشن» *manišn* in line 22 and as *manišna* in lines 63 and 254.

64. «هوخت گویشنه» *hūxt-gūyišna*. *hūxt* (Parsig: *hūxt*), means "good word", that is, one of the three fundamental principles of Zoroastrianism. *gūyišna* (Parsig: *gōwišn*) means "speeking". Thus, *hūxt-gūyišna* means "speeking good words". This word is used as «گوشن» *gūvišn* in line 22, as *guyišna* in line 64 and as «گوشنه» *guvišna* in line 254.

63-66. As has been indicated in the text, there is a connection between the drinking of the three bowls of wine and good thought, good word and good deed, which is also mentioned in lines 108-113. This connection will be con-

tinued by ascending three steps towards heaven in the Other World. However, this connection is not specific for Ardāy-Vīrāf and his journey. In *Bahman Punjīyih's Rivāyat* there is a story called *Ḥikāyat dar bāb-i xwardan-i may-i ḥalāl va ḥarām ba qā'idi-yi dīn* "The Anecdote about Drinking Religiously Permissible Wine or Prohibited Wine". It recommends people to drink three bowls of wine with a mind set on good thought in order for good deed to multiply in the body. It also gives the advice to drink three bowls with a mind set on good thought, good word and good deed to overcome the demons (Unvālā 1922: I.270-271).

66. «هُوَرشت ورزشن» *huvaršt-varzišn*. *huvaršt* (Parsig: *huwaršt*), means "good deed", that is, one of the fundamental principles of Zoroastrianism, too. *varzišn* (Parsig: *warzišn*), means "to put into practice". Thus, *huvaršt-varzišn* means "doing good deeds". «کُنشن» *kunišn* (Parsig: *kunišn*) also means "deed". This meaning is expressed with «کونشن» *kūnišn* in line 22, as *varzišn* in line 66 and as «کونشنه» *kūnišna* in line 255.

It is necessary to point out that *humat-manišna*, *hūxt-gūyišna* and *huvaršt-varzišn*, are used instead of the three phrases «نیک منشنه» *nīk-manišna*, «نیک گُوشنه» *nīk-guvišna* and «نیک کونشِنه» *nīk-kūnišna*.

69-73. At the beginning of the text, it is said that forty thousand people have come together in the court. However, all the people who say praise and keep guard around Vīrāf are altogether 36 400 persons, even counting Vīrāf himself, and not forty thousand men. Haug and West suppose that a sentence related to 3600 remaining persons must be missing in the text (Haug and West 1872: 18).

71. «تیرست» *tīrast* is a Parsig word means 300. It was used in the late Parsig language, in the inscription of *Mil i rādkar* in Tabaristān, in the year 1020 A.D. (Herzfeld 1932: 145). According to Lazard's research, in New Persian texts *tīrast* has been used in this same meaning, that is 300, in the *Šāhnāma* by Firdausī (Wolff 1965: 254) in the *Garšāsp-Nāma* by Asadī Ṭūsī (Yaġmā'ī's edition 1938: 485), in the *Kitāb al-mudxal ilā 'ilm-i aḥkām-i nujūm* by Abū-Naṣr-i Qumī, in the *Raūẓat-ul-munajjimīn* by Šahmardān ibn Abī-alkhaīr, and in the *Umm al-Kitāb* edited by Ivanow (Lazard 1995'a': 23). This word, in addition to the works noted by Lazard, has been used in two other texts as well, that is in this very same *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and in the *Ṣaddar Bundahiš* (1909: XXXV.21).

73. «گنبذ» *gunbaż* (Parsig: *gumbad*) "dome". *gunbaż* is an old form of the word «گنبد» *gunbad*. However, among all manuscripts, it is recorded as *gunbaż* only in manuscript O.

75-78. «و به هر جایی که این یزشن‌کنان نشسته بودند، به هر قومی، جماعتی شمشیر کشیده و سلاح پوشیده، ایستاده بودند تا گروه‌ها همه بر جایگاه خویشتن باشند و هیچ کس بدان دیگر نیامیزند» *va ba har jāyī ki īn yazišn-kunān nišasta būdand, ba har qaumī, jamā'atī šamšīr-kašīda va silāḥ-pūšīda īstāda būdand tā gurūh-hā hama bar jāygāh-i xwīštan bāšand va hīč kas badān dīgar nayāmīzand* "And in every place where worshippers were seated according to each category, a group of

soldiers with drawn swords and clothed in armor stood watching to keep the categories in their proper places and no one was allowed to mix with anyone else”. That every person should remain in his position and is not to be mixed with other social classes is a very old thought in Iran, even originating in the legendary epoch. The social classes were confused by the order of Ẓaḥḥāk during his reign. After his victory over Ẓaḥḥāk (*aždahāg* or *azdahāg*) Frēdōn ordered a restitution of the social classes into its first order, that is to the same order as in Jamšīd’s time. In the Šāhnāma, Frēdōn’s order is described in this way:

سپاهی نباید که با پیشه‌ور   به یک روی جویند هر دو هنر
یکی کارورز و یکی گُرزدار   سزاوارِ هر کس پدیدست کار
چو این کار آن جوید آن کار این   سراسر پُرآشوب گردد زمین

They must not be in the same position,
both the soldier and the artisan.
One is a craftsman and the other one is a mace-bearer,
A duty is clear, fitting each man.
It causes a disturbance all over the earth
when one does the other one’s duty (Firdausī 1987: 1.453-455).

86. In all manuscripts, this name is written Ardāy-Vīrāf and Ardā-Vīrāf. Before his journey to the Other World, the name of this character is mentioned sixteen times as Vīrāf in the text[170]. But, according to all the Zoroastrian Persian manuscripts, at the end of the introduction, when Vīrāf wakes up after returning back from “the Other World”, all priests and authorities call him «... اردای‌ویراف، و به بازبینی آن باشد که بهشتی اشو باشد» ... *Ardāy-Vīrāf, va ba bāz-bīnī ān bāšad ki bihištī ašū bāšad* “… Ardāy-Vīrāf, and that means when looking back that he is heavenly righteous”.

Ardāy-Vīrāf is what Vīrāf was called by Surūš the righteous (1st episode), by the Holy Immortals (3rd episode) and by Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal (12th episode), while they see Vīrāf, at the beginning of his journey to the Other World. Finally, Ohrmazd (60th episode) calls him by this name when he gives Vīrāf the message to be brought to the present world. Besides the title of the book, mentioned at the beginning, the name of this character is given as “Ardāy-Vīrāf” ten times in the introduction. All these cases occur after his return from his journey to the Other World. Thus, the orthographic form of the name «ارداویراف» “Ardā-Vīrāf” instead of «اردای‌ویراف» “Ardāy-Vīrāf” recorded in some manuscripts after his return from the Other World, can be mistakes by the copyists. The form “Ardāy-Vīrāf” of this name is used in this edition for all occurrences of the name after Vīrāf’s return from the Other World, as well as in other cases mentioned above.

The name of this character is mentioned in 20 cases in headings of the episodes (34 % of the headings), in the L manuscript. Out of them 13 cases

[170] In the Other World Ohrmazd and the Holy Immortal address this character as “Vīrāf” three times.

(65 %) are in the form “Ardāy-Vīrāf” (episodes number 1, 4, 24, 25, 26, 33, 40, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60), and seven cases (35 %) in the form “Ardā” (episodes number 2, 19, 36, 38, 39, 47, 58).

86-87. This sentence is clearer in the London Manuscript (L):-«و اردای ویراف به معنی بهشتی اشو باشد» “And Ardāy-Vīrāf means paradisical righteous” (MS.L: 6a).

89. «در» *dar* (Parsig: *darag*), means episode. This word is used for segmentation, corresponding to “chapter/episode” in Zoroastrian Persian works, for example: the *Ṣaddar Bundahiš* and the *Ṣaddar Naṯr*. This word is changed into «باب» *bāb* that is, its translation into Arabic in Islamic-Iranian literature, for example in the *Qābūs-Nāma* by Kay-Khusrau Iskandar (written in 1082), in the *Marzbān-Nāma* by Sa‘d-uddīn Varāvīnī (written in 1210-1225) and in *Gulistān* by Sa‘dī (written in 1258). The episodes are here numbered to make reference between the texts easier while comparing the Zoroastrian Persian and Parsig versions. In the Zoroastrian Persian version the episodes are originally not numbered.

90. The headings of all the episodes from the London manuscript (L) are given, because this is the only manuscript that has segmented the text. Thus all headings in this edited version correspond to this manuscript.

92. «بر» *bar* is written without variants in all manuscripts. Vīrāf’s statement makes it clear that *bar* hear means “body”. Haug and West translated *bar* as “this one” (Haug and West 1872: xviii), to indicate that Vīrāf means himself. Mu‘īn translates the word as «پهلو و شکم» *pahlū va šikam* “side and stomach” (Mu‘īn 1946: 64). Bahār translates it as «تن» *tan* (body) and explains that the word *bar* may also mean *tan* (body) in New Persian (Steingass 1947: 166; Bahār 1996: 338). In Gignoux’s translation, the word is translated as “poitrine” five times (1.10, 48.2, 62.1, 65.1 and 67.2) (Gignoux 1984: 270), Āmūzgār translates it as «سینه» *sīna* (poitrine) following Gignoux (Āmūzgār 1993: 54). However, Vīrāf means his whole body with the word *bar*.

94. «واج» *vāj* (Parsig: *wāz*, *wāj* or *bāj*, is written «واج» *vāj*, «واژ» *vāž*, «باج» *bāj*, «باژ» *bāž* and «باز» *bāz* in Zoroastrian Persian and New Persian) “utterance”. Here *vāj* means the prayer of eating. «واج نان» *vāj-i nān* is the prayer said before eating food, after which the food is eaten in silence. After eating and washing hands and mouth, «واج پایان غذا» *vāj-i pāyān-i ġażā* “the prayer when eating is finished” is said (Kotwal and Boyd 1991: 19-20, 79-81, 95-97, 133).

Due to the different spellings of the word, it is written either as (*vāj*, in lines 94, 95) or as (*vāž*, in line 686). In the Paris manuscript P, this word is found as *vāž* when it first occurs in the first episode, then as *vāj*.

96. «نُخسَت» *nuxsat*. This word might possibly be an inverted form of the word «نُسخَت» *nusxat*, which in Arabic is written «نسخة» “copy”. It does not appear correct to use the form *nuxsat* in Persian. Anyhow, since it is written

nuxsat in manuscripts N and M, it has probably been a common mistake amongst the scribes and writers at the time when the text was written.

99. Haug and West have made a copy and published this much of the text from manuscript M (H28) (Haug-West 1872: Lxxxiv-Lxxxvii). After them, Mu‘īn has also edited and published that same amount of text (Mu‘īn 1946: 58-64).

99. The Knowledgeable scribe sits in front of Vīrāf when he begins to explain the events of his journey. There is an interval between this part and the beginning of the next part, that is the part where Vīrāf explains about his presence in the Other World, which begins with a half sentence. The two parts are not connected naturally. There is one or a few blank lines between the 93nd and 94rd lines in all the Zoroastrian Persian manuscripts. It is clear that they all have missed one or several sentences.

101. «سروش» *Surūš* (Avestan: *sraoša*-, Parsig: *srōš*). Surūš is the god of obedience of Ohrmazd’s words. He is sometimes considered as one of the six or seven Holy Immortals. Along with Mihr and Rašn, he judges the deeds of people in the other world (MX 1985: I.118-119). As Ohrmazd is the keeper of the spirit, Surūš is the preserver of the body. He pays a visit to people three times every night in order for them not to be annoyed by demons (*IraBd* 1956: XXVI.49). He helps the spirits of the dead to arrive at the Chinvad Bridge (idem: XXVI.50). Nyberg supposes that the role of Mihr has diminished in Zoroastrianism, and instead of this Surūš plays a more distinguished and outstanding role. In this way, a lot of ancient important characteristics of Mihr are manifested in Surūš. Thus, this Surūš is none but Mihr, who has clothed himself in Surūš’s disguise (Nyberg 1937: 73).

101. «سروش اشو» *Surūš ašū* (Parsig: *srōš ahlāi*) means Surūš the truthful. «اَشو» is the Pazand form of the word and a Zoroastrian Persian title for Surūš.

114. «چینود پل» *čīnvad-pūl* (Parsig: *čīnwad puhl* or *činwar puhl*) “the Chinvad Bridge” (Tafaẓẓulī 1969: 121) is the name of a bridge in Zoroastrianism, placed from the summit of *dāitī* (Avestan: *dāityā*-) in the middle of the world stretching to the Alburz mountains. The spirits of the dead pass across that bridge in the morning of the fourth day after death. The bridge becomes wide for the righteous and a beautiful girl as the symbol of the righteousness of the dead transfers them safely across the bridge to Paradise. When the vicious are passing, the bridge changes into a sharp razor blade and an ugly woman as the symbol of the wickedness of the dead pulls them off the bridge and throws them into Hell.

Windengren supposes that the thought of a bridge across which the spirits pass is of Iranian origin. However, there are also such conceptions, although sligthly different, in northern religions, which means that the concept of a bridge must be essentially an Indo-Germanic idea. The influence of Chinvad Bridge is so extensive that it has even influenced Islamic eschatology (Widengren 1961: 176).

114. The word «پول» *pūl* is mentioned in the two forms «پول» *pūl* and «پل» *pul* in manuscripts NPN²MO, but the number of *pūl* forms is larger than *pul* in all of them. This word is mentioned in the *pul* form in manuscript L. Since the *pūl* form is closer to the Parsig orthographic form: «پوهل» *puhl*, this form has been preserved in the present text. Only the first case of diverging orthographies of *pūl* and *pul* is pointed out in a footnote.

114-115. This part of the text describing Chinvad Bridge, is strange, because, the bridge is described there as trunk of a tree with many sides, whereas it is clear that the trunk of a tree has a cylindrical form and therefore no sides.

115-116. «تیغ استره» *tīġ-i ustura* "shaving razor". *ustura* and the verbs from which it is derived, «استردن» *usturdan* and «ستردن» *siturdan* "to shave", are Persian forms of *ustarag* which is a Parsig word. *tīġ-i ustura* is a kind of shaving razor.

121. «خُنک باد آن کس را که از نیکیِ وی، مردمان را نیکی بُوَد» *xunak bād ān kas rā ki az nīkī-i vay mardumān rā nīkī buvad* "May he be happy whose [own] goodness has become goodness for people". This a translated phrase of the *Avesta* that has been extracted from *Yasna* (XLIII.1): *Uštā ahmāi yahmāi, uštā kahmāi čit*.

This phrase has been written in manuscripts PMO as «خُنک باد آن کس را که از نیکیِ وی، مردمان را نیکی بُوَد و چنانک یک اسپرم بوی» *xunak bād ān kas rā ki az nīkī-i vay mardumān rā nīkī buvad va činānki yak isparm būy* "may he be happy whose [own] goodness has become goodness for people, just like the scent of the sweet basil"[171]. While editing the text, the final part of this sentence "just like the scent of the sweet basil" has been omitted and moved to the footnotes in consideration of the Avestan phrase.

122-124. In the chapter III, beliefs about the first three nights after the death according to Zoroastrianism have been expounded, especially in consideration of the text *Hādōxt Nask*.

128-129. «جنانت زیتون» *jinānat-i zaytūn* "the paradise of olives". The first word of the phrase is written as «جنانت» *jinānat* (paradise), «خیانت» *xiyānat* (pollution), «جنابت» *janābat* (treachery) and «جانب» *jānib* (side). This phrase was probably originally written as «جنّت زیتون» *jannat-i zaytūn* (the paradise of olive trees) or «جانب زیتون» *jānib-i zaytūn* (side of the olive trees) which could indicate a sweet fragrance perceived from where the olive trees are. However, «زیتون» *zaytūn* (olive) has no specific value in the Zoroastrian culture.

130-133. This picture, presenting the beauty of the girl who is the symbol of the good deeds, reminds us of the same picture in Ābān-yašt that de-

[171] In manuscripts NN² this sentence reads follows: «خُنک باد آن کس را که از نیکی وی، مردمان را نیکی بُوَد و چنانک یک یزم بوی» *xunak bād ān kas rā ki az nīkī-i vay mardumān rā nīkī buvad va činānk yak yazm būy.*

scribes the Ardavī sūra Anāhitā (Ābān-Yašt: XVI.64; XIX.78).[172] There are some pictures that depict Anāhitā's beauty on Sasanians jugs in the National Museum in Teheran and the Hermitage in Leningrad (Ringbom 1958: 162, 168-169).

137-140. «من آن کردار نیکوی توام، نیکوتر از آن که من به چشم تو به‌استم، آن که آنگاه که در گیتی بودی، کردی» *man ān kirdār-i nīkū-yi tu-am, nīkū-tar az ān ki man ba čašm-i tu bi-astam, ān ki ān-gāh ki dar gītī būdī, kardī* "I am your good deeds. That which you made when you were in the world [is] more beautiful than what I am in your sight". Perhaps, there is a word missing in this part. The beautiful girl seems to be saying to the man's spirit: "When you were in the world, you did many good deeds that were more beautiful than the way I appear to you now". Maybe this is the original structure of this sentence from ancient times.

141. «اشو» *ašū* (Parsig: *ahlaw*) righteous; «مرد اشو» *mard-i ašū* is "a priest who performs religious rites of Zoroastrianism", for example the ceremony of «برشنوم» *baršnūm*, which is a symbolic washing of the body.

141. «خرفستر» *xrafstar*, pl. «خرفستران» (*xrafstrān*), is a Parsig word. *xrafstar* is a word applied in general for all dangerous and rapacious animals created by Ahrīman. Snakes, otters, scorpions, alligators, turtles and toads are considered as *xrafstrān*, according to the *Dēnkard* (*DkM* 1911: IX.811), whereas, the *Ṣaddar Naṯr*, considers snakes, scorpions, flies, ants and rats (*ṢDN* 1909: XLIII.2) as the group of *xrafstrān*.

149-152. The sky is divided in two different ways in Zoroastrian literature. According to the *Pahlavi Rivāyat*, there are three celestial positions between the earth and the sky: the star-station, the moon-station and the sun-station. After that, there is the sky (heaven) where *garōdmān* "the home of worship" is situated, and that is Ohrmazd's place. There are 34 thousand *farsang*s (unit of length equal to 6 kilometers) of distance between each of them (*PRDd* 1990: XLVI.7). The second division is mentioned in the *Bundahišn*, according to which there are six grades in the sky. Then, after these six grades, there is Ohrmazd's place, in an eternal light (*IraBd* 1956: III.7). Considering the narrations of the text, it appears that the basis of the division in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is as same as that of the *Pahlavi Rivāyat*.

152. «گروثمان» *garūṯmān*, (Avestan: *garō.dəmāna-*, Parsig: *garōdmān*). It is written «گروثمان» *garūṯmān*, «گروتمان» *garūtmān*, «گردمان» *gardmān* and «گرزمان» *garzmān* in New Persian and Zoroastrian Persian. *garūṯmān* means "the home of worshipping", which is the loftiest paradise, the most brilliant place in the highest heaven, from the sun-station and beyond, to the last degree in the sky, where the place of the essence and the light of God is.

154. «امشاسفند» *amšāsfand* (Avestan: *aməša.spənta-*, Parsig: *amahraspand* pl. *amahraspandān*, New Persian and Zoroastrian Persian: «امشاسپند» *amšāspand* and «امشاسفند» *amšāsfand*). The *amšāspandān* are six assistants of

[172] See also Geldner 1886-1896; Westergaard 1852-54: I.165-166; Wolff 1924: 174-175.

Ohrmazd: Wahman (Bahman), Ardwahišt, Šahrēwar, Spandarmad, Hōrdād and Amurdād. Ohrmazd has created these Holy Immortals of his essence and each one of them carries one of the qualities of Ohrmazd. While creating, Ohrmazd profits from the aid of these Holy Immortals. In addition to this, the six Holy Immortals along with Ohrmazd himself patronize the seven great creations: the sky, the water, the earth, the plants, the quadrupeds, the humn beings and the fire.

156. «مهر» *Mihr* (Avestan: *miθra*- (Mithra), Parsig: *mihr*). Mihr is one of the Pre-Zoroastrian gods in Iran. In Zoroastrianism, Mihr is the god of agreement, friendship and love, and the enemy of falsehood (lies) and broken agreements. In Zoroastrianism Mihr is described as the owner of broad pastures, having a thousand ears and ten thousands eyes and watching the entire world. Mihr is the king of all territories and wherever he sets his foot justice will appear. Mihr alongside with Rašn and Surūš is the god who judges the deeds of people in the Other World (MX 1985: I.118-119). One of the Mihr's other functions is to move around his mace above Hell in order for the dwellers in Hell not to be tormented more than what they deserve (MS.S.P.1191: 139b). In Mihr Yasht the importance of Mihr in Zoroastrianism can be clearly seen:

Said Ahura Mazdāh to Zarathuštra the Spitamid:
'When I created grass-land magnate Mithra,
O Spitamid, I made him such in worthiness to be worshipped
and prayed to as myself, Ahura Mazdāh' (Yašt X 'Mihir Yašt' 1959: I.1).

165. «گز» *gaz* is an ancient measurement unit in Iran. One of the most ancient works in which this unit, equal to 24 fingers, is mentioned is *Tārīx-i Qum* (*History of Qum*) written by Ḥasan Šaybānī Qumī (in 988 A.D.). One *gaz* is equivalent to one meter according to a regulation of the year 1925 in Iran (Mu'īn 1984: 3.3300). Instead of *gaz,* «ارش» *araš* is used in manuscript N². *araš* is a measurement unit that stretches from the elbow to the finger tips.

The width of Chinvad Bridge is mentioned as 27 *nay*s in the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg* (*Dd* 1998: XX.3). According to the *Mēnō ī Xrad*, the width of the Bridge is one *farsang* (6 kilometers) (*MX* 1985: II.123). In the *Dēnkard*, this width is equal to nine *nayza* (a short spear), and each *nayza* is equal to three *nay*s, and a *nay* is equal to a *tīr* (*DkM* 1911: IX.809).

165. «دلیروار» *dilīr-vār*. «دلیر» *dilīr* (Parsig: dilēr) means "brave". It is probable that «گذشتنِ دلیروار از پول» *guẓaštan-i dilīr-vār az pūl* (passing the bridge bravely).

I saw how the spirit passed bravely over the bridge and I also crossed the bridge after him

181. «بهمن» *Bahman* (Avestan: *vohu.manah*-, Parsig: *wahuman* or *wahman*, New Persian and Zoroastrian Persian: «وهمن» *Vahman*, «وهومن» *Vahūman* and «بهمن» *Bahman*. Bahman, the first Holy Immortal, is more intimate with Ohrmazd than the others. His functions are to take care of quadrupeds and to lead the spirits of the righteous to the threshold of

peds and to lead the spirits of the righteous to the threshold of Ohrmazd (*Ir-aBd* 1956: XXVI.14).

182. «کُرسی» *kursī* "stool/chair/throne". This *kursī* must be a stool of gold, because, Bahman says to Vīrāf that this is the place, the *garūtmān* is called «گاه زرّین» *gāh-i zarrīn* "the golden place" and «عرش و کُرسی» *'arš va kursī* "the empyrean and the throne". The gold reminds us of the empyrean and the throne of gold in the royal courts of the Sasanid kings. "The king [Xusrau Anōšarawān] ordered that a golden stool be given to him [Sayf ibn Żī Yazan] to sit down". This stool is mentioned in a description of Xusrau Anōšarwān's court (Aṣm'ī → Shaked 1995: VII. 80). In this connection, it is necessary to mention the inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak in ancient Elymais (south western Iran) in which an Aramaic phrase *n'syh kwrsy'* "he who takes/hold the stool" is repeated several times (Henning 1952 → Shaked 1995: VII.80). The connection between what Vīrāf describes as *kursī* in *garūtmān*, the place of Ohrmazd, and the "holder of a stool" of the inscription of Tang-i Sarvak will appear more clearly if we know that to sit on a special stool has been accompanied with some ritual ceremonies (Bivar and Shaked 1964: 287ff).

182. «عرش و کرسی» *'arš va kursī* "the empyrean and the throne" are mentioned in 13th and 59th episodes. These two words are used for «گروثمان/ گروتمان» *garūṯmān*/*garūtmān*, that is *garōdmān* in the Parsig and *garōdəmāna-* in Avestan. The translator has changed the *garūṯmān*, which is the highest station in Heaven and the place of Ohrmazd's light in Zoroastrianism, into *'arš va kursī* that has a very important place in the Muslim faith, perhaps because it was well-known to the masses, both the Muslims and Zoroastrians at the time of the translation.

Muqaddasī has contemplated the various interpretations and paraphrases of *'arš* and *kursī* by different groups of Muslims. He declares that *'arš* has been described as the throne of God in the Quran: "and they, the eight angels, carry thy God's throne upon their shoulders on that Day [the resurrection day]" (Quran 1988: 69.17). Muqaddasī says as well, while defining *kursī*, that *kursī* is equal to *'arš* according to some [Muslim] traditions; as a pearl in a flat landscape. Many Muslims believe that *kursī* means just knowledge, and they rely on the Quran that states "his [God's] throne spreads over all the skies and the grounds" (Quran 1988: 2.255) (Muqaddasī 1995: 1-3.245-248)[173].

'arš va kursī, have been used repeatedly in Iranian mystical (Sufi) literature, especially in the works of Farīd-al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār. For example, it can be found in the *Ilāhī-Nāma*:

«که ای دارایِ عرش و فرش و کُرسی / چو تو داناتری از ما چه پُرسی»

[173] Muṭahhar ibn-i Ṭāhir-i Muqaddasī composed his book *Al-Bad'-va-l-Tārīx* in Arabic in the year 965 A.D. in the Bust area of Sīstān. The text that is used here was translated into Persian by Muḥammad-Riżā Šafī'ī Kadkanī (1995).

(‘Aṭṭār 1940: 157);

"O Lord of the Empyrean, the Earth and the Firmament,
since Thou art wiser than we, why dost Thou ask?" (‘Aṭṭār 1976: 151).

It seems that before they used the expression *‘arš va kursī* for the Parsig word *garōdmān* in the Zoroastrian Persian texts, they had used the term *ayvān-i yazdān* for *garōdmān*. In a letter from a *dihqān* (countryman) to Xusrau I it is written: «و بهشتِ آن سرای، رسیدن است به ایوانِ یزدان نزد یکی از فرشتگان» "and Paradise in the Other World is that you can come to God's court, in the presence of one of the angels" (MS.D43: 36a). In this section the *ayvān-i yazdān*, located in paradise, corresponds to *garōdmān,* which is the place of Ohrmazd's light.

187. «دستبند» *dastband*. That is the name of a folk dance in the territory of Iran since Elamite times. In a picture painted on an earthenware surface, from the fourth millennium B.C., found in the Sialk hills in Kāšān (figure 2), a group of people (it is not clear if they are men or women) are performing this folk dance of *dasta-band* or *dast-band* (Ghirshman 1938: I.PL.LXXV). The dancers are standing side by side holding hands in this painting. Since there are some signs of the sun and some aquatic birds in the space between the dancers, it is supposed that they may have performed this kind of dance in the plain or meadows to worship the god of the sun, the god of illumination and warmth who rubs off the darkness and terrors of the night from the human heart. In the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, a group of people is also performing this kind of folk dance in front of musicians and on a riverside in a garden (lines 420-422). Another example of this kind of folk dance, is found in Čašma-‘Alī and preserved in the Louvre Museum (figure 3), where all the dancers are women (Żukā’ 1965: 47-48).

197. «همیستگان» *hamīstagān* (Parsig: *hamēstagān*, in the Zoroastrian Persian and New Persian «همیستگان» *hamīstagān*, «همیستان» *hamīstān* and «همستگان» *hamistagān*) "Limbo". It is the intermediate space between the earth and the station of the stars, a place similar to this world and the place of those whose good deeds and sins are equal.

According to manuscripts NPN²MO, it is written *hamīstān* in the text, whereas, in the Zoroastrian Persian texts *hamistagān* is also used. Because this heading is only given in manuscript L and there is no other manuscript variant, it has been kept in the orthographic form found in this manuscript.

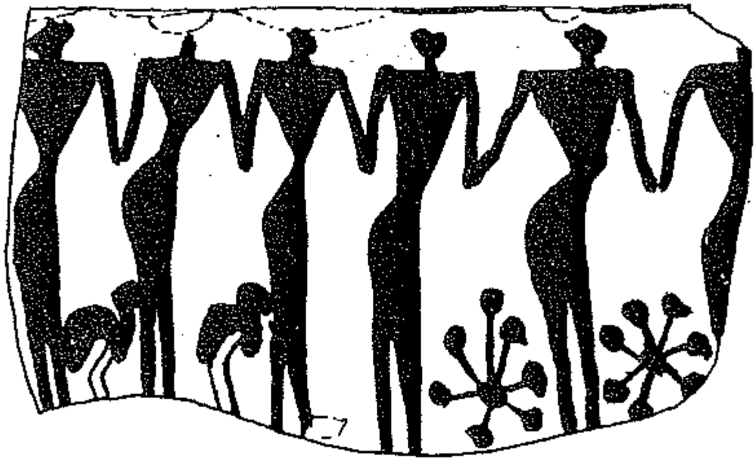


Figure 2. Painting from the Sialk in Kāšān (Ghirshman 1938: I.PL.LXXV)

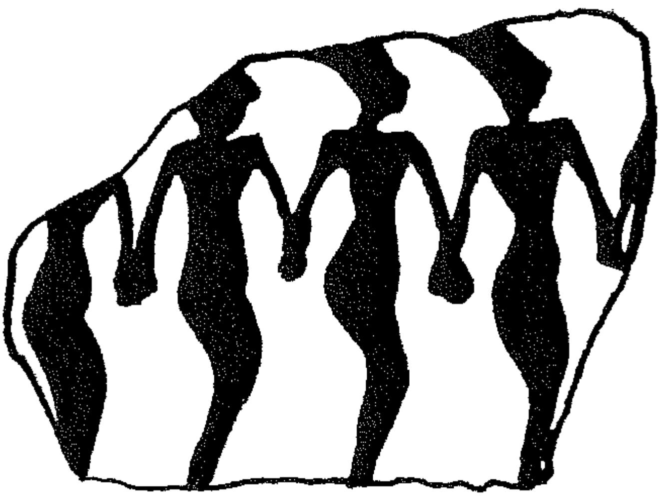


Figure 3. Painting from the Čašma-‘Alī (Żukā’ 1965: 48)

203. «تنِ پسین» (Parsig: *tan ī pasēn*) means “final body”, i.e. the body which every creature receives at the resurrection at the end of the twelve thousand years of the world. After the resurrection the body will remain in that form forever.

216. «گیتی‌خرید» *gītī-xarīd* (Parsig: *getīg-xrīd*) means to acquire the rewards in the Other World of the worship that one has performed in this

world. It is clearly explained in the *Ṣaddar Bundahiš* that "the meaning of *gīti-xarīd* is to acquire the Other World in this world" (*ṢDB* 1909: XLII.4).

216. «نوزود» *nauzūd* (Parsig: *nōg-zād*) is a young person, who joins the believers group in the «نوزودی» *nauzūdī* ceremony, after which he will be regarded as an adult.

217. In manuscript P «مُزد» *muzd* instead of «مُژد» *mužd* is recorded. *mužd* is a dialect variant of the word. However, it is possible that *mužd* was the form of the word in ancient manuscripts (Khāliqī-Muṭlaq 2005: 436).

225. *nauzūdī* (Parsig: *nōg-zādīh*, New Persian and the Zoroastrian Persian: «نوزادی», *nauzādī*, «نوزوتی» *nauzūtī* and «نوزودی» *nauzūdī*). *nauzūdī* means "new birth" and means that a Zoroastrian youngster, either a boy or a girl, joins the believers' group. They wear the holy waist-belt (*kustī*/*kuštī*) during a religious ceremony when they are 15 years old (*ŠnŠ* 1969: XIII.2). The Parsis in India call this *nauzūtī* festival *naojote*.

226. «گاهان» *gāhān* (Avestan: *gāθā*, Parsig: *gāhān*) means "hymn". *gāhān*, is the oldest relic section of the *Avesta* which remains until the present time. It has been attributed to Zarathustra himself.

228-237. It seems that the tenth episode should take place after the fifth episode, because, the theme of this episode follows logically on the fourth (lines 167-183) and the fifth (lines 184-195). In episodes 4 and 5, firstly Surūš and then Bahman lead Vīrāf watching and worshipping the *garūtmān* or *gāh-i zarrīn* "the golden place", which is the same as *'arš va kursī* "empyrean and the throne".

239. «نمازگاه» *namāz-gāh* "place of worship". «نماز» *namāz*, in New Persian it means to bow down in reverence. In the text *namāz-gāh* means «گروثمان» (*garūṯmān*) (the worthy of paradise) or the place of the light of Ohrmazd. Formerly in the text, «عرش و کُرسی» *'arš va kursī* "empyrean and the (celestial) throne" signifies the place where one should worship Ohrmazd. «هان، عرش و کُرسی، نماز بر!», *hān 'arš va kursī namāz bar* "Behold, the empyrean and the celestial throne. Do reverence!" said Surūš the truthful to Ardāy-Vīrāf in lines 191-192.

242. «نمازها گاهِ اورمزد بر!»[174] *namāz-gāh-i ūrmazd, namāz bar* "Pay hommages in front of Ohrmazd!" This sentence is quoted in a disordered manner in all manuscripts. But, in view of the heading of this chapter in the London manuscript (L), it seems that it is Surūš the truthful who in reply to Vīrāf's question says to him, "Here is the place of worshipping Ohrmazd, bow down!" The text has been edited according to this interpretation.

246. «روغن میدیوزرم» *rauġan-i mīdiyūzarm* "mīdiyūzarm oil". *mīdiyūzarm* (Avestan: *maiδyōi.zarəmaya-*, Parsig: *mēdyōzarm*) "mid-spring/mid-greening(?)", is a name of one of the festivals «گاهنبار» *gāhanbār* (Parsig: *gāhānbār*). The *gāhanbār*s are six festivals celebrated during the year

[174] N: نمازها گاه اورمزد بره PN²M: نمازها کاه اورمزد بر O: نمازه کاه اومزد یزه L: نمازها عرش کاه اورمزد بر

(Boyce 2001: 254-256). *mīdiyūzarm* is the first festival of the year in the Zoroastrian calendar, equivalent to mid-spring (the 5th of May). According to the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, the reason for *rauġan-i mīdiyūzarm* is that the best food comes from the products of cattle. Among the products of cattle, milk is the best, and amongst milk products butter/oil is the best, and among the butters/oils the best is that which is obtained in the second month of the year, when Mihr is in the constellation of Taurus, and that month is called *Zarmiyā* in Zoroastrianism. Thus, the butter/oil produced in this month is a paradisical food, which is the best food in the world (*Dd* 1998: XXX.13).

According to the *Pahlavi Rivāyat* Ohrmazd orders the spirit to be fed with "mares' milk, cream and butter and sweet wine, or butter which is made in spring [*rauġan-i mīdiyūzarm*]. First give him the spring butter" (*PRDd* 1990: XXIII.17). In addition, in the *Mēnō ī Xrad*, the food given to the spirit is *rauġan-i mīdiyūzarm* "spring oil", which is the best food in the world (*MX* 1985: I.152, 156).

The paradisical food is called «انوش» *anōš* in the Parsig version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and the *Zand of Widēwdād*. Widengren follows these texts and believes that spring butter or oil is a kind of food of immortality (Widengren 1965: 104). But, *anōš* is a mixture that the Sōšyans "saviour" will provide after resurrection and will give to all people to be immortal. Thus, the word *anōš* is in my opinion wrongly used instead of *rauġan-i mīdiyūzarm* "spring oil" for the paradisical food in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and in the *Zand of Widēwdād*. *Anōš*, is a mixture of immortality, and there is no need for a spirit to get any foodstuff of immortality in Paradise. It is the body which must be immortal by eating *anōš* on resurrection day (Ġaybī 2003: 389-390).

258-275. This passage shows the importance of the matter of setting fire to wet wood, appropriating a whole chapter of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* to this subject (12th episode).Thus, in Zoroastrianism, it is a sin to set fire to wet wood. This is also alluded to in brief in the Parsig version (*AWN* 1872: X.4-8) when Ardāy-Vīrāf protests to Ādur-yazd because he has called him "wet wood" (Parsig: *xwēd-ēzm*). To show the importance of the matter, one can also point to a proverb in New Persian which is currently used: «چه هیزمِ تَری به تو فروخته‌ام؟» *či hīzum-i tarī ba tu furūxta-am?* (Have I sold you any wet wood?). The meaning of the proverb is "What evil have I done to you? In what way have I hurt you?" (Ṯarvat-Inzābī-nažād 1998: 898). This idea probably originated in ancient Iranian culture, when trees were respected and no one was permitted to cut and burn a live tree.[175] Therefore, it was a sin to set wet wood on fire.

260. «اردیبهشت» *Urdībihišt* (Avestan: *arəta.vahišta-*, Parsig: *ardwahišt*). Ohrmazd created *Urdībihišt,* the Holy Immortal, from his own wisdom. *Urdībihišt* is the first Holy Immortal who praises Ohrmazd. To take care of

175 Signs of this tradition can be seen in some part of Iran now ('Anāṣirī 1995: 60-62).

the fire is the most important function of *Urdībihišt* in the world. Anyone who offends the fire and treats the fire with disrespect will be *Urdībihišt*'s enemy.

264-265. When Ohrmazd intends to send the fire to the world, the fire disagreed and said that people would not have a behavior befitting it. Finally, Ohrmazd got Urdībihišt assigned to protect the fire, and then the fire accepted to be sent to the world (*PRDd* 1990: XLVI.30-33; *ṢDB* 1909: XVIII). Urdībihišt, the Holy Immortal, points to this same matter in the text.

293. «سخاوتان» *saxāvatān*. This word is constructed as a nominalised adjective formed from «سخاوت» *saxāvat* with the plural ending. This is not a common way of nominalising this word, and the form *saxāvatmandān* (as it is also found in Modern New Persian) would have been expected.

309. «در زیر ایشان قومی دیدم» *dar zīr-i īšān qaumī dīdam* "I saw below them a people". The actual location of this place is not totally clear. *zīr-i īšān* "below them", means under 'the station of the Souls of the Munificent and the Generous' (The Fourteenth Episode). However, the station of the Souls of the Munificent and the Generous is not specified either.

319. «مازدیسنان» *māzdayasnān* (Parsig: *māzdēsnān*) "Mazdeans", "Mazda-worshippers" and "Mazdayasnians", i.e. Mazda-worshippers who practise Zoroastrianism. The sg. form of this word is «مزدیسن» *mazdayasn*, Parsig: *māzdēsn*, which means "adhering to Zoroastrianism".

325. «خورّه» *xwarra* (Avestan: xvarənah-, Parsig: *xwarrah*, New Persian and Zoroastrian Persian: «خورّه» *xwarra*, «فرّه» *farra* and «فرّ» *farr*. *xwarra* is one of Ohrmazds's creations and a heavenly power. Three kinds of *xwarra* are mentioned in Avestan texts: «خورهی ناگرفتنی» *xwarra-yi nāgiriftanī* "a non-acquired *xwarra*", which is related to the Mūbads (the Zoroastrian priests). «خورهی کیانی» *xwarra-yi kiyānī* (the kingly khwarra), which is related to the kings. This *xwarra* appears in various forms, such as a hawk, a gazelle and fire, and gives the one who has gained it great power. «خورهی آزادگان» *xwarra-yi āzādagān* (the freemen's *xwarra*), is only available to Iranians, and non-Iranians are not able to acquire this kind of *xwarra*. In later texts, *farra* is used in different senses such as chance, fortune and wealth (Mīrfaxrāyī 1987: 98-99).

325-326. «خورهاومندی» *xwarraūmandī* (Parsig: *xwarrahōmandī*). Manuscripts NPMOL record this word as «خورهومندی» *xwarhūmandī*, but manuscripts PN² write it «خورهمندی» *xwarramandī*. Anyway, «خورهاومندی» *xwarraūmandī* is the correct form of the word in Zoroastrian Persian if the Parsig form is taken into consideration.

340-341. «نشستگان دیدم، هر یک در چهار بالش» *nišastagān dīdam har yak dar čahār bāliš* "I saw people seated each one on four cushions". The Sasanian kings used to sit on several cushions and put some at their back, to recline. This can be seen in the iconography of a Sasanian bowl (Ghrishman 1962: 218, fig. 259) and on some bezels as well (idem: 242, figs. 296, 267), where such intaligos are engraved (Shaked 1995: VII.77-78). The kings' method of

using cushions while sitting has also survived in post-Islamic times. The Chronicles of Harāt (written about 1320 A.D.) write in this way about one of the kings: «امروز که پادشاه عالم در چهار بالشِ بلندِ تختِ سلطانی، فریدون‌وار نشسته است» *imrūz ki pādšāh-i ʻālam dar čahār bāliš-i buland-i taxt-i sulṭānī, farīdūn-vār nišasta ast* "Today, while the king of the world is seated on four cushions of the kingly throne like Firiydūn (Harawī 1943: 165).

342. «ورج» *varj* (Parsig: *warč*) means "worth", "merit" and "rank".

347-365. In the last five pages after the text is finished in manuscript N (the basic manuscript), a short part of the text is re-written on folio 151a. This part is equivalent to lines 347-365 in our edited version and it is marked by an asterisk (*) at its beginning and end. The differences between this part and the way it appears in the text as found in all manuscripts are indicated by the means of the sign N^{x} in the footnotes.

Re-writing a text, partly or totally, has some previous records in both the Parsig and the Zoroastrian Persian manuscripts. The part *Rōz ī Ohrmazd māh ī farwardīn* "the Ohrmazd day of Farwardīn" is re-written first on pages 73-78, then for the second time on pages 112-117 of the M.U.29 manuscript in Parsig (Nawābī 1976 → M.U.29:1). Some parts of a text have been re-written in another section of this manuscript, too. For example, pages 27-28 are re-written on pages 33-34, and pages 95-96 on pages 98-100 (Mazdāpūr 1999: 282, 153).

350. «ردان» *radān*, sg. form of the word is «رد» *rad*, (Avestan: *ratu-*, Parsig: *rad*), pl. *radān*. This word is translated as "chief" and "master" (MacKenzie 1990: 70). According to the *Šāyest nē-Šāyest*, it seems that *rad* is a spiritual authority in Zoroastrianism who deals with judgment (*ŠnŠ* 1969: XIII.29), because a person confesses his sins in front of a *rad*, then the *rad* will judge him and his acts (Kotwal 1969: 49).

365. The meaning of this sentence «و من به جانبی می‌کردند» *va man ba jānibī mīkardand* "and they led me to a side" and the another variant «و من به جایی می‌کردند» *va man ba jāyi mīkardand* "and they led me to a place" is not clear to the editor.

364-365. «چون من آن زنان را دیدم بدان نیکی، یک از دیگر بهتر، و من به جانبی می- کردند» *čūn man ān zanān rā dīdam ba-dān nīkī, yak az dīgar bihtar, va man ba jānibī mīkardand* "When I saw those women with that beauty, one better than the other, and they brought me to the side". The last phrase, that is «و من به جانبی می‌کردند» *va man ba jānibī mīkardand* has been recorded as «بجایی می- کردند» *ba jā-yī mīkardand* "they took me to a certain place" in manuscripts N^{x}PM and as «به جای می‌کردند» *ba jāy mīkardand* "they led me to a place" in manuscript O.

375. «دشتانْ گناه» *daštān-gunāh* "menstruation sin" is when a woman comes near to the fire in her first three days of menstruating, which is a sinful act and thus called "menstruation sin".

375. «ترسِ استودان» *tars-i astūdān* "fright of the grave". The ceremony of *tars-i astūdān* means that the relatives of a dead person say prayers for three

days beside his/her bed or at the place where he/she has died (Ūšīdarī 1992: 215).

375. «استودان» *astūdān* (Parsig: *astōdān*) "ossuary" is a square cavity excavated in rocks of mountains, where they put the bones of the dead and then cover upon the hole.

375. «دوازده هماست» *davāzdah-humāst* (Parsig: *davāzdah-humāst*) "twelve-humast". *humāst* is a ceremony of saying prayers performed for the sake of the quick or the dead. Four kinds of *humāst* are mentioned in the *Nīrangistān*: one-*humāst*, two-*humāst*, ten-*humāst* and twelve-*humāst*. *davāzdah-humāst* (twelve-humāst) is a recitation of the *Yasna* and the *Widēwdād* during 264 days in paying homage to 22 gods (Rāšid-Muḥaṣṣil 1990: 93-94). According to the *Ṣaddar Naṯr*, only women should perform this religious duty of *davāzdah-humāst* (twelve *humāst*) (*ṢDN* 1909: LXVIII).

395. «همادين» *hamādīn* (Parsig: *hamāg-dēn*). According to the *Šāyest nē-Šāyest* (*ŠnŠ* 1969: XVII.4), it seems that *hamādīn* is the name of all prayers done in the first three days after someone's death (Kotwal 1969: 109).

396. «زنده روان» *zinda-ravān* "whose soul is alive" is devotion accompanied by a special ritual ceremony that every Zoroastrian should do in his/her lifetime to prevent any damage to his/her soul (*ṢDN* 1909: LVIII).

397. «هيربَد» *hīrbad* (Parsig: *hērbad*, pl. «هيربدان» *hērbadān*), "teacher". *hīrbad* is a Zoroastrian religious leader who also fulfills his duty as a teacher. It is mentioned in the *Ṣaddar Bundahiš* that the parents nourish the body of the child but it is the *hīrbad* that feeds his soul (*ṢDN* 1909: XXIX.12).

397. The word «اكنون» *aknūn* "now" is mentioned after the verbal form «بوده‌اند» *būda-and* "they have been" in manuscripts NPN² but as «اكنو» *aknū* in manuscript M. The meaning of the sentence under consideration indicates that the word *aknūn* here must be a mistake by the copyist. For this reason, this word is taken to the footnotes and instead «كه» *ki* has been inserted to complete the sentence.

401. «همازور» *hamāzūr* (*hamāzūr*) is a brazier in which aloeswood and other fragrant substances are burnt. In addition to this, *hamāzūr* are persons who recite verses of the *Avesta* in chorus and promise to do good deeds (Surūšiyān 1977: 185). Here *hamāzūr* means to join in getting rewards of good deeds.

410. «ايرانشهر» *Īrān-šahr* (Parsig: ērān-šahr) is the name for all territory of Iran in the Sasanian period. The *Iranian Bundahišn* or the *Great Bundahišn* is the most ancient text in which the word *Īrān-šahr* is used to denote Irān (*IraBd* 1956: XXXIII.1-26).

423. «آهوناكى» *āhūnākī* and in N² «هولناكى» *haulnākī*. Both manuscripts are, in my opinion, wrong, since both adjectives have negative connotations. Ardāy-Vīrāf asks about the happiness and prosperity of a nation and therefore one would expect a positive adjective. It might be «آهوانگى» *ahuvānagī* a

word that means «آهووشانه» *āhūvašāna* “sincere”. However, this is just a surmise.

425. «حشارات» *ḥašārāt* / «حشرات» *hašarāt* “insects”. This word is found in the form *hašārāt* in manuscripts NN²MO, but in the form «حشرات» *hašarāt* just in manuscript P. In some Zoroastrian Persian manuscripts, for example, in numerous texts in manuscript MS.S.P.47, the short Persian vowels *a*, *i* and *u* are sometimes represented by the letters *alif*, *ya* and *vāv* (‘plene writing’). Accordingly the first «الفِ» *alif* in «حشارات» is possibly an orthographic representation of (short) *a*.

443. «اسفندارمد» *isfandārmad* (Avestan: *spəntā.ārmaiti-*, Parsig: *spandarmad*, New Persian and Zoroastrian Persian: «اسپندارمذ» *ispandārmaż*, «اسپندارمد» *ispandārmad* and «اسفندارمد» *isfandārmad. Isfandārmad* is Ohrmazd’s daughter and she is the mother of all creatures. Her function is to take care of the earth.

462. «گوسپند» *gūspand* “sheep” is written *gūspand* in manuscripts N²MO, and by both «گوسپند» *gūspand* and «گوسفند» *gūsfand* in manuscript P, and as «گوسفند» *gūsfand* in manuscript N. Since the form *gūspand* (with majhul pronunciation) is identical with the Parsig form *gōspand*, this form is used in the text and the other form *gūsfand* is moved to the footnote.

516. *kadxudā* (Parsig: *kadag-xwadāy*) “husbandmen”. In today’s New Persian *kadxudā* means someone who takes care of the affairs of a village, i.e. headman for a village. But *kadag-xwadāy* in Parsig and *kadxudā* in the Zoroastrian Persian means lord, king or husbandman. Firdausī says:

کیومرث شد بر جهان کدخدای
نخستین به کوه اندرون ساخت جای

Kayūmarṯ became king (*kadag-xwadāy*) of the world,
first he made himself a place in the mountain (Muʻīn 1984: 3.2921).

521-522. This phrase is recorded as «تا ایشان با یکدیگر باز می‌گردیدند» *tā īšān bā yakdīgar bāz mīgardīdand* “until they came back with each other”, in manuscripts NPMO. However, it is written, «تا ایشان با یکدیگر بازی می‌کردند» *tā īšān bā yakdīgar bāzī mīkardand* “Until they were playing with each other”, in manuscript N². Because this latter form of the phrase fits the meaning of the main sentence better, it is used in the text and the first form is moved to a footnote.

518. «اورور» *ūrvar* is a Parsig word (*urwar*) meaning “plant”. The orthographic form «اورور» (plene writing) instead of «ارور» may have been preferred because it makes it impossible to read the word as *arvar* or *irvar*. «اورور» has has been used in the text and the other form moved to the footnotes.

532. «جادنگویان» *jādangūyān*, sg. «جادنگو» *jādangū* (Parsig: *jādag-gōwān*) means “defender”. The *jādangū* collects everyting that is given to Mūbads and Dastūrs in the fire temple and give it to the poor (*ṢDN* 1909: XXII.1-3).

542. «آدران و آتشان» *ādarān va ātašān*. There are three kinds of fire in Zoroastrianism and in order of importance they are «آتش بهرام» *ātaš-i Bah-*

rām, «آتش آدران» *ātaš-i Âdarān* and «آتش دادگاه» *ātaš-i Dādgāh*. Here the expression *va ātašān* seems to denote the fires of *Bahrām* and *Dādgāh*.

The reason why *ātaš-i Âdarān* is mentioned separately may be that it is the fire under consideration in this part, since Vīrāf was travelling to the Other World from the Âdarān fire-temple (line 38).

552-574. «رود اشکِ سوگواران» *rūd-i ašk-i sūgvārān* "the river of the mourners' tears" is the first chapter in which the situation in Hell is mentioned without reference to a specific place in Hell. According to the text, all spirits should pass across the river. Everybody either passes with difficulty or drowns in this river depending on how much he has wept for the dead. There is no complete picture of the river in the text. This river is not placed in Hell according to the text, but it must necessarily be somewhere between Paradise and Hell, and spirits have to pass across it. However, as it is said in the text, Hell is placed under Chinvad Bridge and in the vicinity of Paradise.

There is no other recalling of the mourners' 'river of tears' anywhere in other mythological texts or other Iranian Zoroastrians sources, than what is found here in *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. However, resistance against mourning and lamenting is praised in *Avesta*:

I eulogize the act and the good-nature
I eulogize the good-nature and the act
For resistance against the darkness
For resistance against mourning and lamenting (Yasna: LXXI.17).[176]

In *Mēnō ī Xrad* the land of mourning and weeping is seen as an afflicted land (*MX* 1985: V.1-13). For this reason, the *ērānwēz* lands (Avestan: *Airyanəm.vaējō*-), that is where people do not mourn and weep, is called a better land (idem: 24-29, 43). A great deal of ancient Iranian documents have eulogized happiness in contrast to weeping and crying, which are disgraceful and prohibited acts.[177] In the *Tażkirat ul-Auliyā'*, one of the most famous works of Sufism, there is a clear description of the Iranian lamentation in post-Islamic times and of the Zoroastrians' avoidance of mourning and weeping: «نقل است که عبدالله را وقتی مصیبتی رسید. خلقی به تعزیت او رفتند. گبری نیز برفت و با عبدالله گفت: خردمند آن بُوَد که چون مصیبتی به وی رسد، روزِ نخست آن کند که بعد از سه روز خواهد کرد. عبدالله گفت: این سخن بنویسید که حکمت است» *naql ast ki 'Abdullāh rā vaqtī muṣībatī rasīd. xalqī ba ta'ziyat-i ū raftand. gabrī nīz biraft va bā 'Abdullāh guft: xiradmand ān buvad ki čūn muṣībatī ba vay rasad, rūz-i naxust ān kunad ki ba'd az sih rūz xwāhad kard. 'Abdullāh guft: īn suxan binavīsīd ki ḥikmat-ast* "It is told that when 'Abdullāh[178] hit by a misfortune (i.e. lost a beloved one), people gathered to share his grief. A *gabr* (a Zoroastrian) had come there, too. And he said to 'Abdullāh: 'When one encoun-

[176] See also Geldner 1886-1896; Westergaard 1852-54: I.123-124; Wolff 1924: 101.
[177] See the careful and profound research by Bīžan Ġaybī (1994) about lamentation in ancient Iranian culture until the first centuries A.H. and about how it was widespread after that time.
[178] It refers to 'Abdullāh Mubārak, one of the great Sufis from Marv, who lived in the second century A.H./ 8th-9th A.D. (Ġaybī 1994: 28).

ters a misfortune, he who is a wise man does in the first day what he will do three days later'. 'Abdullāh said: 'Write his statement down, because it is a wise saying.'" ('Aṭṭār 1905: 1.185-186; Ġaybī 1994: 28). This saying both indicates three days' time of lamentation among Iranians and clearly shows the prohibition and reprobation of lamentation among Zoroastrians (Ġaybī: idem).

In *Ṣaddar Naṯr*, there is a description of this 'river of tears' as well: "The tears will change into a river at the Chinvad Bridge" (*ṢDN* 1909: LXXXXVI.2). However, this description does not help us understand the issue of this river.

In many of the myths of the ancient world there is a river in the Other World, situated in hell. According to Akkadian, Sumerian, Assyrian and Indian myths, a river, or even some large rivers are flowing in the underground world. According to Scandinavian myths, there is a large river in hell called *Gjöll*, which flows between the world of the living and dead (Snorres Edda 1978: I.3, 48). A bridge of gold, constructed over this river, is called *Gjallarbrú* and a person by the name of *Modgunn* is the guardian there (Snorres Edda 1978: I.48). According to Greek myths there are four rivers in Hell,. One of these four rivers is called *Kokytos* (Κωκυτός) which means the 'river of the teardrops' (Schlapbach 1999: 6.638).

To prohibit people from crying for their dead, is a concept found among other peoples and religions as well.[179]

579-580. «ای وای بر من. چه کنم و کجا شوم و که را به یاری درخواهم که به فریادم دررسد؟ که هیچ پشت و پناه و یارم نیست، و هیچ همراه ندارم. تنها کسی بی دلیل بمانده‌ام» *ay vāy bar man. či kunam va kujā šavam va ki rā ba yārī dar-xwāham ki ba faryādam dar-rasad? ki hīč pušt va panāh va yār-am nīst, va hīč ham-rāh nadāram. tanhā kasī bī dalīl ba-mānda-am* "Woe is to me, what shall I do and where shall I go and who may I ask to assist me, who will come to my rescue because I am helpless and without support or shelter. And I have no companion with me. I am all alone and without a guide." The theme of these sentences is compatible to a part of the 46th Yasna, the first paragraph, where it says:

[To] which piece of land shall I [go to] graze [my cattle]
Where shall I go to graze [them]?
They keep [me] away from [their] family and tribe.
The community which I wish to join does not satisfy me
Nor [do] the deceitful tyrants of the land.
How shall I satisfy Thee, O Wise Ahura? (Yasna: XLVI.1).[180]

[179] For information on the tradition to weep for the dead among adherents of different religions, including Armenians, Mandeans, Muslims and Copts, and the prohibition of this tradition by religious leaders, the reader may refer to Meier (1973).
[180] Translation by Humbach 1991: I.167. See also Geldner 1886-1896; Westergaard 1852-54: I.83.

Just the first line of this part of *Yasna 46* is mentioned in the Parsig version (XVII.5) of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. Gignoux believes that the form mentioned in the Parsig version is a free citation of this same passage in the Yasna (Gignoux 1984: 171).

589. «واختر» *vāxtar* (Parsig: *abāxtar*). «اباختر» *abāxtar*, «واختر» *wāxtar* and «اختر» *axtar*, means "north" in Iranian mythology, the winter place (*IraBd* 1956: XXVIII.3).

606. «گژدهم» *gažduhm* (Parsig: *gazdum* or *gazdumb*, New Persian: *každum*). *gažduhm* is recorded as a variant of *každum* (Mu'īn 1984: 3.3313). It seems that this variant is more ancient than *každum*. *gažduhm* may be a dialectical form of the word.

608. «گزیدن» *gazīdan* "sting". This word is written «کژیدن» *kažīdan* (= «گژیدن» *gažīdan*) in manuscript P, which is pointed out in a footnote. It is possible that *gažīdan* is a dialectal form of the word or even a more ancient form of it. However, this form of the word is not recorded in any dictionary.

612. «تفوقی» *tafavvuqī* (exalting onself/superiority/ascendancy). This word is written «تفرقی» *tafarruqī* 'distinction', in all manuscripts except manuscript L, in which there is an obvious mistake. The word *tafarruqī* would not give a sensible meaning: "Today, I must be distinct to others, for how can I know what will come tomorrow?" but with *tafavvuqī* instead of *tafarruqī* the meaning will be reasonable. "Today, I must be superior to others, for how can I know what will come tomorrow?"

This word is written as «نانی» *nānī* in manuscript L, which is meaningless in this context. Thus, it has been emended in the edition with respect to the sense of the sentence.

619. «اهرمن» ahriman (Parsig: *Ahriman* (Nyberg 1974: II.11) or *Ahreman* (MacKenzie 1990: 7), in some Parsig texts mentioned as *gan[n]āg mēnōg*, is one of the two incipient spirits of the world, in Avestan called «انگره مینو» *angrō.mainyu-*, which means a warlike spirit (Yasna XLV: 2). He is the symbol of ugliness, wickedness, falsehood and darkness, and his place is in Hell. Ahrīman, who is the leader of all demons, fights permanently against Ohrmazd in a combat that will result in Ohrmazd's victory at the end of the world.

The Pazand and New Persian form of the word is Āharman, Ahraman and Ahriman (Nyberg 1974: II.11).

This name is found in manuscripts NPN²MO in two forms: «اهرمن» Ahraman and «آهرمن» Āhraman or Āhirman. It is written «اهریمن» Ahrīman in manuscript L. Firdausī used the forms Āhirman and Ahraman in the *Šāhnāma* (Khāliqī-Muṭlaq 1986: 253) as well. Since the form Ahraman is found in the basic manuscript, namely N, it is the form retained in the edited text and the other forms are moved to the footnotes.

Some researchers of the religious history, among them S. Hartman (Hartman 1976: 1-8) and G. Widengren (Widengren 1969: 440-455), believe

that the conception of Satan as an evil power in Judaism and Christianism is directly influenced by the Iranian Ahriman.

635. «جایگاهی» the letter «ی» is used to indicate the presence of an *iẓāfa*.

643. «چنان که گرگ استخوان خورَد» *činān ki gurg ustuxān xwarad* "… As a wolf eats bone…". The Parsig version has *dog* instead of *wolf*, which seems to be more proper.

648. It is written «در دوزخیان صفت» *dar dūzaxiyān ṣifat* in all three manuscripts NPN². The writing *dar dūzaxiyān ṣifat* is probably due to a misunderstanding or a hasty writing on the part of the copyists. It has been emended in the edited text.

648-649. «[آن‌ها] در دوزخیان صفت می‌رفتند» [*ān-hā*] *dar dūzaxiyān ṣifat mīraftand*. The end part of this sentence is written in the same way in all manuscripts. However, it seems as if this is an incorrect form of «[آن‌ها] در دوزخ باین صفت می‌رفتند» [*ān-hā*] *dar dūzax ba īn ṣifat mīraftand* "[they] were walking in hell in this manner", which is in accordance with the meaning of the whole sentence. Thus, the sentence is edited in this way.

649-650. In all manuscripts, this sentence is written in this form «این روان کیستند که با مار بوده‌اند؟» *īn ravān-i kīst-and ki bā mār būda-and* "whose souls are these that have been with a snake (= snake-like)". But the sentence structure gives at hand that this should have been written with «هستند» *hastand* "are" instead of «بوده‌اند» *būda-and* "have been". It has been emended accordingly in the edition.

651-652. In all manuscripts, the sentence «اکنون روان ایشان با مار بوده است» *aknūn ravān-i īšān bā mār būda-ast* "Now, their souls have been snake-like" is found in this form, whereas it seems that the verb «است» *ast* "is" at the end of the sentence is enough and that, the participle «بوده» *būda* "have been" is superfluous. Thus, it is omitted in the edited version.

679. «کُستی» *kustī*, (Parsig: *kustīg* "holy waistband"). *kustī* is a kind of belt, woven of 72 strings spun of sheep's wool. Zoroastrians wear it as a holy waistband after they are 15 years old.

In the edition it is written «کشتی» *kuštī* following manuscripts NPN²MO. This heading is found only in manuscript L, and since «کُستی» *kustī* is used in Zoroastrian Persian as well, it is in the edition kept in this orthographic form.

Concerning the importance of wearing the holy waistband *kustī* it is written "Whoever wears the *kustī* has gone away from realm of the Devil (Ahriman) and come into Ohrmazd's realm" (*ṢDN* 1909: X. 5).

It seems that fastening the *kustī* (holy waistband) was current in Iran even before Zarathustra. According to *The Reign of Jamšīd*, Surūš asks Jamšīd to fasten the *kustī* (MS.S.P.38: 116). It is also mentioned in the *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram* that *Amšāspand Bahman* (*Bahman* the Holy Immortal) led Zarathustra, when he was fifteen years old, to put on the *kustī* (*WZad* 1993: XIII.2).

684-685; 704. The Zoroastrians made much fuss about walking with one shoe only. The same prohibition can be found in Islam as well. For example,

it is recommended that if someone's shoelace is torn, one should take the other shoe off until the first shoe also is fixed (Goldziher 1896: 50). It is not yet clear why the Zoroastrians prohibited walking about with one shoe only. However, it seems that there is an Arabic expression for this act, that is «زیّ الشیطان» *ziyyu l-šayṭān* "Satan's clothing fashion", which seems to fit nicely with the Zoroastrian concept (Shaked 1995,: XII.151-152).

686. «خرداد» *xurdād* (Avestan: *haurvatāt-*, Parsig: *hordād*). *xurdād* is the guardian for the water, and thus also for cultivation of the earth.

686. «امرداد» *amurdād* (Avestan: *amərətāt-*, Parsig: *amurdād*). *amurdād* is the symbol for immortality, the guardian of the plants.

695. «روسپی‌کردن» *rūspī-kardan*. In Parsig *rōspīg* means "whore", and *rōspīgīh*, means "whoredom" (MacKenzie 1990: 72). The corresponding verb is «روسپی‌گری‌کردن» *rūspī-garī-kardan* in New Persian. However, this verb is found in the form of *rūspī-kardan* both in the present text and in the *Ṣaddar Naṯr* (LXVIII), and in Zoroastrian Persian as well.

697-705. The sins mentioned in this episode are mentioned previously, in the thirty-third episode, as well (678-688), but the punishment for the sins vary in the different episodes.

704-705. Possibly the Zoroastrian reason for the prohibition to urinate while standing is that this causes too much pollution to the earth. This same prohibition occurs in Islam, and it is also mentioned in Jewish writings. It seems that the reason for this prohibition in Islam and Judaism is to avoid the risk of self-pollution by urine (Shaked 1995: XII.152).

718. «قفیز» *qafīz* was a unit of measuring weight and volume of grain (wheat and barley) and cereals (peas and beans). The volume of *qafīz* was varying in different areas and cities.-*qafīz* was also a unit of yardstick. It is mentioned in the *Rīsāla-yi mu'arrabāt* that the word *qafīz* is an Arabicized form of *kafīz* (Dihxudā 1963: 84.384-385).

737. «زفان» *zafān*. This word is found both as «زفان» and «زبان» *zabān* in various manuscripts. The form «زبان» *zabān* is in all cases changed to the oldest form «زفان» *zafān* in the edited text, and the other form «زبان» *zabān* is moved to the footnotes.

762-771. «دوانوس» *Davānūs* (Parsig: *Dawānus*). See appendix.

«دنس» *Danus*, in manuscripts N²L is an error or possibly an abridged form of «دوانوس» *Dawānūs* mentioned in the Parsig version. This name is written «یونس» *Yūnis* in manuscripts NPMO, which probably is a mistake by the scribes. Therefore the form *Davānūs* from the Parsig version is retained in the edited text and the other forms are moved to the footnote.

763. «اژگهن» *ažgahan* (Parsig: *ajgahān* and *ašgahān*, New Persian and Zoroastrian Persian: «اژکان» *ažkān*, «اژکهان» *ažkahān*, «اژگهان» *ažgahān*, «اژکهن» *ažkahan* and «اژگهن» *ažgahan*) means "lazy". This word is used as an adjective for Dawānus/Dawāns, in the Parsig version of the *Ardāy-Wīrāf Nāma* (*AWN* 1872: XXXII.1).

812-820. The dog is the most valuable animal in Zoroastrianism. According to Herodotus "the Magians kill with their own hands every creature, save only dogs and men" (Herodotus 1920: I.140). According to *Bundahišn*, the dog is known as a cherished animal and it annihilates the demons (*drūj*; Parsig: *druž*) and pains (*IraBd* 1956: XXIV.51). According to *Ṣaddar Naṯr*, whenever someone eats bread, he should put aside three morsels of that bread to feed the dogs. People are also prohibited from beating and molesting dogs (*ṢDN* 1909: XXXI.1-4).

In the early days of Islam, dogs were permitted even in the mosque. However, later on, perhaps Muslims felt that they should be different somehow from Zoroastrians and therefore they changed this viewpoint (Goldziher 1900: 284ff.).

818. «سگ مانی» *sag-i mānī*. This term is copied from the Parsig form *sag ī mān-bānān*. Bahar has translated it as «سگ خانه‌بانان» *sag-i xāna-bānān* "the guardian dog of the house" (Bahār 1996: 333).

In manuscript N «سگی» *sagī* "a dog" is written instead of *sag-i māni*. Thus *mānī* is omitted there. The whole phrase *sag-i māni* is also omitted in manuscript N². It seems as if the scribe has found it out of place when copying *sagī* of manuscript N without any adjective, thus he has decided to omit it.

«ی» in the end of «سگی» *sagī* can be the *kasra-yi iżāfa*.

824. «روزبانان» *rūzbānān* is the plural form of the word «روزبان» *rūzbān,* which means "guardian" and "executioner".

842. «هیخر» *hīxr* is a Parsig word (*hixr*) meaning "excrement" and "impure matter". This word is written «حشتر» *ḥaštar* in manuscripts NN²O, «خسر» *xasr* in manuscript P, and «حشتر» *ḥaštar* the first time in manuscript M, and then «هیچر» *hīčr* at the margin of folio 85a. It seems that the scribes did not know the meaning of the word. This word is edited as *hixr* in accordance with the Parsig version. The closest form to this one is that of manuscript M. The other forms are only found in the footnote.

844. «برشنوم» *baršnūm* "the major purification ritual" (Parsig: *baršnūm*) is the most important purification ritual to clean the body in Zoroastrianism. During the ceremony, all body limbs are washed one by one three times, under the care of a *mūbad* (priest) and in conformity with religious rules. After this, the ablated person should spend nine days in a room all by himself. During this time, he is washed in a simpler manner three times more.

867. «این قوم به گرمابه شده‌اند چون جُددینان» *īn qaum ba garmāba šuda-and čūn jud-dīnān* "These people went to the bath-house as unbelievers". The Zoroastrians were prohibited from going to the baths of non-Zoroastrians. This strictness survived in post-Islamic times as well, because according to the *Rivāyat-i Hēmīt-i Ašawahištān*: "The Muslim's bath is absolutely polluted and unclean, […] going to the Muslim's bath and bathing there is prohibited for Zoroastrians" (REA 1980: XIX.5-6). In this same manner, Muslims also believed that the water might carry with it uncleanness of the Zoroastrians.

Thus they did not allow the Zoroastrians to use the baths of Muslims (Choksy 1997: 128). However, it is possible that this episode has been added later, in the times of Arab Muslim sovereignty. In Parsig texts concerning religious matters of this period, among them *Rivāyat-i Hēmīt-i Ašawahištān* (I.1, IV.1-2), a new expression «اگدین» *agdēn* is applied instead of «جُددین» *jud-dēn*, which means Zoroastrian converts to Islam.

867. «جُددین» *jud-dēn* is a non-Zoroastrian person, and even in some cases an irreligious and a heathen.

883-894. In manuscript M the part in the lines 883-894 that is marked by two asterisks is missing. In view of the character of the handwriting of the document, it seems that just one folio of this manuscript is missing.

896. «مهر و دروج» *mihr va durūj* "contract" and "lie, deceit" is written «مهر و درج» *mihr va durj* in manuscripts NN²MOL and «مهر درج» *mihr durj* in manuscript P. Both of them are variants of a Parsig word, *mihr-druž* (Avestan: *miθrō.drug-*) (Nyberg 1974: II.133). It seems as if both these forms of the word are correct. MacKenzie has recorded both Parsig forms of the word; that is *mihr-drōz* and *mihrōdruj* in meaning of "contract-breaker" (MacKenzie 1990: 56). But Tavadia has transcrbed it as *mihrān-druž*[*ih*] and has written the Pazand form of this word as *mihr druja*. (Tavadia 1930: 135).

925. «سفنتمان» *Sfantamān* (Avestan: *spitāma-*, Parsig: *spitāmān*), that is the name of Zarathustra's eighth ancestor, and his family name is *Sfantamān*. -*ān* is a derivational suffix indicting relation in Parsig, as in *zarērān* and *pā-pagān*. This name is recorded in the forms «سفنتمان» *sifantamān*, «اسپنتمان» *Ispantamān* and «اسفنتمان» *Sfantamān* in New Persian and Zoroastrian Persian.

930. Following the sentence «و احوال چنین بود که نموده آمد <و> از خدای تعالی» *va aḥvāl činīn būd ki namūda āmad <va> az xwadā-yi ta'ālā* the word «تمت» *tammat* is written above the phrase «خدای تعالی» *xwadā-yi ta'ālā* in the in the space between the lines in manuscript L (MS.L: 50b). This indicates that the original text of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, finished already here, in the viewpoint of scrib of manuscript L, but either the scribes or perhaps the translators of the text entered the prayer and the penitential after into the text. However, surprisingly this addition is found only in manuscript L which seems to be the latest manuscript of Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma.

But, it seems more correctly that the original text should have been finished by the sentence which is previous to the sentence mentioned by the scribe of manuscript L that is, the text had been finished in line 929. Since, the sentences after that are not connected with the original text.

931. «آویژه» *āvīža* means "clean, pure, pure as gold". This word is found in the Zoroastrian Persian version (MS.S.P.1191: 91a) of «پانزده هنر موبدان» *pānzdah hunar-i mūbadān* "The Fifteen Arts of Mūbads". *āvīža* is written «آویچه» *āvīča* in line 284.

931. «خداوند ما را از همه بلاها و عذابها نگاه دارد» *xudāvand mā rā az hama-yi balā-hā va 'ażāb-ha nigāh dārad* "May God keep us from all misfortunes

and punishments". This is the last sentence of manuscript M. Since, there are only few lines following this sentence in other manuscripts, manuscript M lacks only one folio.

931-937. Sometimes in Zoroastrian-Iranian works; a part of a text is chosen to be added to the end part of another text, if their themes are similar. The part found at the end of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* has the same structure as the Zoroastrian *petīt-nāmag*. Another *petīt-nāmag*, more or less with the same form and theme, following the 100th episode, is mentioned at the ending part of the *Ṣaddar Bundahiš* as well (*ṢDB*: 177).

Adding a part of a work to the ending part of another one is not restricted to the Zoroastrian Persian version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. It is observed also in the *Ohrmazd pad harwispāgāhīh*, where the ending part of the *Nīrangistān* is addedd (Aša 2002'b': 44, 55, 73). The above-mentioned ending part is found in the sixth book of the *Dīnkard* as well (idem: 25).

The influence of this same style can also be seen in the addition of some traditions and verses to the beginnings and endings of Iranian Islamic texts.

936. «اَجَش» *ajaš* and «اَخَش» *axaš*. These two words seem to be misspellings of the Parsig word of «اَبَخش» *abaxš*, which means "repentant, regretful". Since this word is found both as *ajaš* and *axaš* in other Zoroastrian Persian texts as well, for example in the *petīt ī ērānī* (Iranian confession) (T.30=N: 239b-241a), it has been kept as it stands in this text. The doubling could originate from the loss of the *b* and a consequent uncertainty about this word. This word is recorded as «افاخش» *afāxš* in the *Ṣaddar Bundahiš*, and as «اَواخش» *avāxš* in a variant copy (*ṢDB* 1909: LX.3). In the conclusion of the *petīt ī pašīmānīh* (confession for penitence), which is known as *petīt ī Ādurbād*, it reads as follows: *az hān vināhīhā abaxš, pašēmān pad petīt hem* "I regret and repent of [my] sins and I am penitent" (Aša 2002: 291). 937. «و پتفتم» *va pataftam* "and I have committed intentionally". In the Zoroastrian Persian versions of *Patat-Nāma*, this verb is in most editions found in the form «به پتفتم» *bi pataftam* or «به پتتم» *bi patatam* in the last sentence of the text. In any case, the form of *va pataftam*, which is found in *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is also grammatically correct.

937. «پتفت» *pataft*. *pataft* or «پتت» *patat* is, like *baršnūm*, the symbol of cleaning the body to purify the spirit symbolically.

938. «مرداد ماه قدیم» *Murdād māh-i qadīm* "the ancient month of Murdād". Iranian months have been in use in the Iranian calendar since the solar year was made official in 1925. However, there were generally two kinds of chronometry for the Iranian calendar earlier: the first is called *Jalālī* and the other one was the *Qadīm* "ancient". For example, they wrote the month of Farvardīn twice in calendars; firstly as *Farvardīn-i Jalālī* "Jalalī's Farvardīn" in a sub-column of the Jalālī months and secondly as *Farvardīn-i qadīm* "Ancient Farvardīn" in a sub-column of ancient months. The ancient months were adopted based on the Ancient Iranian Calendar, which was current before Malik-šāh (1073-1092) of the Saljūq dynasty. However, in

spite of the introduction of the Jalālī Calendar (introduced in 1078) which was current after Malik-šāh, the ancient calendar was in use as well. Zoroastrians of Iran and India (the Parsis) even use it currently. Even Muslims in some parts of Iran still use this calendar. The ancient months made up an incomplete year where every month had 30 days and there were totally 360 days in a year. To complete the year, five days called «پنجه‌ی دزدیده» *panja-yi duzdīda* (*the lost five days*) "epagomenæ" were added to the end of the final month of the year (Taqīzāda 1977: 4-5).

938. The name of the work is given as the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* at the beginning of the text besides in manuscripts N, P, N² and O. For this reason, while editing the text, the word 'Ardāy' was added to 'Vīrāf Nāma' at the ending line and written in square brackets: [*Ardāy*]-*Vīrāf Nāma*.

VIII. The Zoroastrian Persian Version in Comparison with the Parsig Version

The Zoroastrian Persian and Parsig versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* are of the same origin, and they are, on the whole, similar in content. This does not mean that they are similar word for word. Furthermore, they differ considerably in some passages.

Haug and West note the differences between the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* versions in the preface, and in their view the original story probably lacked a preface. Furthermore, because there is no written date for either of the two versions, later authors attributed the text of the preface to later Zoroastrians clerics, whose intention was to solve problems of Zoroastrianism in ritual and belief (Haug-West 1872: Lxxiii). In comparing the Zoroastrian Persian and Parsig versions of the texts, it will be shown that in some places the differences between the two texts are not fewer than the differences between the prefaces.[181]

The content of the two texts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* are sometimes similar, sometimes the resemblance is smaller and sometimes they are entirely different from each other. The similarity of the two versions can be divided into four degrees:

- Almost total similarity
- Compressed expression of a subject in one version and expanding the same subject in the other version
- Different sequences of passages and chapters in the two versions
- Lacking passages and chapters in one version

As mentioned in the chapter on previous research, in previous studies of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, mention has generally been made of similarities and differences between the different versions of this text. Furthermore, several thorough comparisons of various versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* have been made. At first, Haug and West compared some segments of various versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, especially some parts of the H28 manuscripts (Zoroastrian Persian), with the Parsig version (1872). Then, after them, the complete text of the versified version of Zartušt Bahrām was com-

[181] In the Parsig version, according to the divisions of Dastur Jamaspji Asa, there is no distinct 'introduction'. Since the 'introduction' consists of a part of the text that prepares the way for entering the main text, the first and the second chapters and pieces 1-7th of the 3rd chapter may be considered as the introduction in Parsig version.

pared twice with the Parsig version. The first comparison was done by ʻAfīfī (1964) and the second one by Āmūzgār (1983). Ġaybī has also made a comparison of some parts of the Zoroastrian Persian version with the versified version of Zartušt Bahrām and the Parsig version (2001).

The Parsig language dates back to a time before the Zoroastrian Persian version, which means that the Parsig version must be of an earlier origin than the Zoroastrian Persian version. Nevertheless, this research is mainly concerned with the Zoroastrian Persian version, and the Zoroastrian Persian version is also presented in a text edition in this work. Therefore, the Zoroastrian Persian version is the basis of the comparison and the Parsig version will be compared to that version.

For the purpose of comparing the two versions, the divisions of the Zoroastrian Persian text found in the London manuscript and the divisions of the Parsig text edited by Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa have been followed. The London manuscript is the only manuscript of the Zoroastrian Persian version which has been divided into parts, *viz.* one preface and sixty episodes. The Parsig version was for the first time divided into chapters when it was edited by Dastur Jamaspji Asa, and then into a hundred chapters. Later researchers have, more or less, accepted and profited of his divisions.[182]

While comparing these two versions, first the two prefaces are compared. This comparison will be more extensive and more detailed than the comparison of the other chapters. There are two reasons for doing this; first, although the prefaces of these two versions obviously have a common origin and are similar in their style of describing the circumstances, the narration differs considerably between them. Secondly, there is a time discrepancy in the two versions, which means that Ardāy's journey takes place in different historical periods in the Parsig and Zoroastrian Persian versions.

After comparing the prefaces, all Zoroastrian Persian episodes will successively be studied and compared to the Parsig version for contents and orders of events. If there is any difference between the Zoroastrian Persian and Parsig versions, this will be indicated. It will be also indicated when a passage or a full chapter is found in only one of the two versions.

[182] To compare these two versions, the text edition made in this work has been used for the Zoroastrian Persian version, and for the Parsig version the text edited by Jamaspji Asa has been employed. In addition to the edited text by Jamaspji Asa, other editions and translations of the Parsig version have been used as well. These are: The Pahlavi Codices K 20 & K 20b, fols. 2r-29r; The Pahlavi Codices K 26, fols. 8r-56v; *Le Livre d'Ardā Vīrāz*, Ph. Gignoux 1984; *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag*, F. Vahman 1986; *Ardā Vīrāf Nāma*, Translation in Persian by R. ʻAfīfī (1993); *Ardā Vīrāz Nāma*, Ph. Gignoux, traduit en persan par Ž. Āmūzgār (1993); *Ardā-Vīrāf Nāma*, Translation in Persian by M. Bahār (1996).

Comparison of the Introductions

The introduction of the Zoroastrian Persian version corresponds to the first and second chapters and sections 1-7 of the third chapter of the Parsig version.[183]

In both versions, the introduction has similar contents.

Zoroastrian Persian: The Zoroastrian faith is facing a period of weakness and the masses are uncertain about their religious beliefs. Ardašīr-i Bābakān asks the Zoroastrian priests to reveal to him the right and true religion, so that he may destroy all other religions.

Forty thousand wise persons and authorities come together in Ardašīr's court from every place of Iran by his order. Ardašīr tells them that he wants to eliminate all hesitation and doubt about the Zoroastrian faith. After a long process, they select Vīrāf for this mission. Without any conditions, Vīrāf accepts the duty, which consists of a journey to the Other World. Then Vīrāf goes together with others to the Ādarān fire-temple. He performs his ablutions there, dresses in white, perfumes himself and repents in front of the fire.

Vīrāf has seven sisters who come weeping to request that their brother should not be sent to the Other World. The Zoroastrian priests promise that Vīrāf will return. The sisters accept and go back home. Vīrāf is laid up on a throne by priests. The priests perform religious ceremonies and then they make Vīrāf drink three bowls of wine. Vīrāf drinks the wine and falls asleep. Vīrāf is asleep for seven days and nights. During this time, forty thousand wise men as well as Ardašīr, the king, and his soldiers keep guard around the fire-temple to prevent any damage to that religious ceremony. Vīrāf wakes up after seven days. People and authorities make merry and ask him to let them know what has happened to him.

Parsig: The weakness and uncertainty of Zoroastrianism is attributed to Alexander's attack, when *Avesta* was burned and the priests killed. Therafter, Ādurbād ī Māraspandān appears and submits himself to ordeals to prove the truth of his religion. In spite of this, the masses are still hesitant.

There is no mention of any king's name in this version. The authorities come together in the Ādur ī Farnbay fire-temple and, after discussing the problem, they decide to send someone to the Other World to get information whether the good deeds of religion that people do are profitable to the gods or to the demons. Then they call on the people and select seven men among them, and they in their turn select Vīrāf, who according to this version is known as "Weh-šāpūr", in a selection process in two stages. The name "Weh-šāpūr" is not mentioned in the Zoroastrian Persian version.

[183] The part that is called 'introduction' by Haug and West, is the same as the first, second and third chapters of the Parsig version. Whereas the text divisions in this thesis follow the London manuscript (L), in which the introduction covers the first and second chapter and sections 1-7 of the third chapter of the Parsig version.

Vīrāf wishes to test if the choice of him is correct by throwing a javelin; it is not clearly known what the significance of this test was. After three times of throwing the javelin, Vīrāf is again selected.

Vīrāf's seven sisters are his wives, too. They are among God's worshippers and know the religious texts by heart. The seven sisters converse with the *mōbadān* (priests) and stay by Vīrāf's side after the decision of the priests.

Vīrāf tells the priests that he must first eat something and make his last will known, and after that they can make him drink wine and *mang* (henbane). Then he eats something and the authorities make him drink three bowls of wine and *mang*. Vīrāf drinks all three bowls, says his prayer while he is conscious and then falls asleep. There is no word of eating and drinking *mang* in the Zoroastrian Persian version.

The *dastūrān* (authorities), *mōbadān* (priests) and sisters are busy reading the *Avesta* and watching Vīrāf during his sleep.

Vīrāf's soul ascends to the top of the Mount Dāitīg and comes back to his body after seven days and nights and Vīrāf wakes up. In the Zoroastrian Persian version there is no word of Vīrāf ascending to the top of the Mount Dāitīg and returning to his body.

While returning, as Vīrāf sees *dastūr*s (authorities) and *hērbad*s (priests/teachers), he goes towards them and shows his reverence and gives them the greetings of Ōhrmazd, Zardušt, Srōš, Ādur-yazd (the god of fire), *xwarrah ī dēn* (the glory of Religion) and the other virtuous ones of the Other World. The sisters are happy because of Vīrāf's return, too. No such greetings are mentioned in the Zoroastrian Persian version.

Comparison of subsequent episodes in both versions

1. The first episode of the Zoroastrian Persian version corresponds to sections 8-14 of the third chapter and the sections 1-4 of the fourth chapter of the Parsig version.[184]

Zoroastrian Persian: Vīrāf eats a little food and says his prayers. Then, he asks for a scribe to write his travel report to be sent all over the world.

Vīrāf sees Surūš a few hours after he has fallen asleep and tells him that he has been sent by the king and the *dastūrs* (authorities) to report. Then together with Surūš he goes to the Chinvad Bridge and describes it.

Parsig: Vīrāf eats some food and drinks water and wine, and then asks for a scribe.

[184] In order to help the reader not to confuse the different versions with each other, two different words are here used: 'episode' for the Zoroastrian Persian version and 'chapter' for the Parsig version.

He sees Srōš and Ādur-yazd (the god of fire) and tells them that he is “a messenger”. Then he visits Chinvad Bridge, but he does not describe it.

2. The second episode corresponds to sections 5-14 of the fourth chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: This episode consists of a description of a virtuous man who says a prayer while passing the Chinvad Bridge. This spirit is mentioned only in the third singular person form.

Parsig: The virtuous spirit is mentioned both as a single individual and in the plural. The virtuous man says a Gathic prayer in the Avestan language.[185]

3. The third episode corresponds to the fifth chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: Vīrāf, while visiting Mihr-īzad and the *amšāspandān* (Holy Immortals) on Chinvad Bridge, tells them that he has been sent by the *mūbads* (priests), the *dastūrs* (authorities), the faithful and the king of kings to report to them about the Other World. Vīrāf says these same words to Surūš in the first episode of the Zoroastrian Persian version. A virtuous man arrives at Chinvad Bridge, which is 27 *gaz* (27 meters) wide. The Bridge turns the wide side up, and the virtuous man and Vīrāf following him pass it.

Parsig: Chinvad Bridge becomes as wide as 9 lances.

The following circumstances are mentioned in the Parsig version but not in the Zoroastrian Persian version:

Mihr-yazd Mihr-yazad, Rašn, Wāy ī weh, Wahrām-yazad, Aštād-yazad, Xwarrah ī dēn ī weh ī Māzdēsnān, Frawahr ī ahlawān Mazdēsnān and the other spirits greet Vīrāf.

Vīrāf sees Rašn with a golden balance in her hand measuring good and evil deeds.

Srōš and Ādur-yazd say that they will show the merriment, as well as the light and fragrance of Paradise to Vīrāf, besides the darkness, narrowness, laboriousness and wickedness of Hell.

4. The fourth episode is not mentioned in the Parsig version, but its statement that is leading Vīrāf to Ohrmazd’s place were cited in sections 1-3 of chapter 10 of the Parsig version.

5. The fifth episode is not mentioned in the Parsig version.

6. The sixth episode corresponds to the sixth chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: Vīrāf was led to *hamīstagān* (limbo), the place of those for whom the virtues and sins are equal.

7. The seventh episode corresponds to the the seventh chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: Vīrāf was led to the *sitāra-pāya* (star-station), the place of those who have not done *nau-zūdī* and *gītī-xarīd* (see commentary).

[185] The Gathic statement of the virtuous man runs: *Uštā ahmāi yahmāi, uštā kahmāi čit*.

Parsig: The sins of the residents of the star-station are, not to have done their prayers, not to have read the Gāhān, not to have married their close relatives *xwēdōdah* (kin-marriage) and not to have ruled or been leaders.

8. The eighth episode corresponds to the eight chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: Vīrāf was been led to the *māh-pāya* (moon-station), the place of those who have not done the Gāhān prayers and not done *nau-zūdī* and *gītī-xarīd*.

Parsig: The other sin of the residents of the moon-station is that they have not married their close relatives *xwēdōdah* (kin-marriage).

9. The ninth episode corresponds to the ninth chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: Vīrāf was been led to the *xūršīd-pāya* (sun-station), the place of those who have done all the good deeds except *nau-zūdī*.

Parsig: The sun-station is the place of the virtuous kings.

10. The tenth episode does not exist in the Parsig version. But its main subject corresponds to the first–third section of chapter eleven of the Parsig version.

The main subject of this episode, ascending to *garūṯmān* (Paradise) to bow down to Ohrmazd, is similar to the second section of the fifth episode of the Zoroastrian Persian version.

11. The eleventh episode corresponds to the first-third sections of the tenth chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: A voice tells the souls not to trouble Vīrāf by asking him questions. Instead of this, they should feed him with some aliments. So Vīrāf is given a bowl of *rauġan-i mīdiyūzarm* (spring oil) which is the most delicious nutriment that Vīrāf has ever eaten, and that is the food for all heavenly fellows and obedient and god-fearing women.

Parsig: Vīrāf was given *anōš* (immortality syrup) to drink.

12. The twelfth episode corresponds to the fourth–eighth sections of the tenth chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: The holy immortal Urdībihišt reproaches Vīrāf for setting wet logs on fire and recommends Vīrāf to advise the people of the world to be careful while setting logs on fire, perhaps the logs may be wet. The last sentence is not mentioned in the Parsig version.

Parsig: The holy immortal is here called Ādur-yazd (the god of fire).

13. The 13th episode corresponds to chapter 11 of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: The description of *garūṯmān* (Paradise), which, according to what Surūš says, is made of pure diamond does not exist in the Parsig version.

In that version the voice that gives the order to show the place of righteous and evil doings to Vīrāf is the voice of Ohrmazd.

Parsig: There is no mention of *garūṯmān*, but it is called the place of Ohrmazd and of the *amšāspandān* (Holy Immortals), the *faravahr* (celestial

body) of Zarathustra, Wištāsp the king, Jāmāsp, Isadwaštar ī zarduštān (son of Zarathustra) and the other religion leaders in the ninth section.

Gignoux supposes that it is a repetition when these names are mentioned in the same chapter for the second time. Since the names of Gayōmart and Faršōštar are missing in the first list, without doubt one of the later collectors of the work added these two names to complete the list according to his desire (Gignoux 1984: 164). Neither the list of heroes nor that of the gods is found in the Zoroastrian Persian text.

14. The 14th episode corresponds to chapter 12 of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: Vīrāf sees the spirits of the *rādān* (munificent), all shining and playing cheerfully. They are those who have acted benevolently and made donations to poor and orphans.

Parsig: The spirits of the *rādān* are the believers of religion and the doers of religious duties, who are honored by Ohrmazd.

In the tenth piece of the twelfth chapter, a description is given of the spirits of virtuous rulers and kings on golden chariots and wheeled vehicles. This is similar to the 20th episode of the Zoroastrian Persian version, where mention is made of the spirits of men of armour.

15-16. The 15th and 16th episodes have no corresponding chapters in the Parsig version.

17. The subject of the 17th episode is the reward for righteous judgment and the punishment for unjust judgment.

The theme of punishment for unjust judgment is also repeated in the 79th and 91st chapters of the Parsig version.

18. The 18th episode corresponds to chapter 13 of the Parsig version, but is longer than that one.

Zoroastrian Persian: Vīrāf sees women in beautiful dresses, who have been obedient to their husbands and loving towards them and have respected water and fire.

Parsig: These women are the women of good thoughts, good words, and good deeds who have respected water, fire, the land, plants, cows and sheep and Ohrmazd's other creatures. In addition to this, they have satisfied the wishes of the divinities of the spiritual world and the divinities of the physical world, and they have gained respect and satisfaction from their husband and their guardians as well.

19. The 19th episode corresponds to the first-third sections of chapter 14 of the Parsig version, but is longer than that one.

Zoroastrian Persian: Seeing the spirits of the *hērbadān* (priests/teachers), who themselves have performed their worship and already have a more superior position than the other spirits in Paradise, they keep company with the *amšāspandān* and eat spring oil.

Parsig: This group is called *yazišngarān* (worshippers) and *mansarbarān* (religious leaders), but in this version there is no word of them having per-

formed their worship themselves, keeping company with the holy immortals, or eating spring oil.

20. The 20th episode corresponds to the fourth–fifth sections of chapter 14 of the Parsig version but is longer than that one.

Zoroastrian Persian: Here the spirits that have curtailed the power of the enemies of Irān-šahr and have been in trouble all the time are vested in military garments and are given golden and silvery weapons.

Parsig: Vīrāf sees spirits with valuable bejeweled weapons sitting in a kingly manner on chariots and wheeled vehicles (*gardūneh*), but there is no word about protecting Irān-šahr against enemies.

However, in the 10th section of chapter 12 of the Parsig version, it is written that the spirits of fair rulers and kings are seated on golden chariots and wheeled vehicles. This is similar to a section of the 20th episode in the Zoroastrian Persian version.

21. The 21st episode corresponds to the sixth–seventh sections of chapeter 14 of the Parsig version but is longer than that one.

Zoroastrian Persian: The spirit of those who have killed *xrafstarān* (noxious creatures) and black wild beasts are now in gardens and orchards dancing joyfully.

Parsig: Here it is written that since *xrafstarān* have been killed by these persons, the splendor of the water, fire, plants and productivity of the ground has become more brilliant.

22. The 22nd episode corresponds to the eighth–ninth sections of chapter 14 of the Parsig version but is longer than that one.

Zoroastrian Persian: Here the spirit of farmers (*barzīgarān*) have been given the greatest happiness by the *amšāspand* (holy immortal) Isfandārmad in the most beautiful garden, and Isfandārmad reveals herself to them as pretty women who are at their service.

Parsig: There is no description of the place where the farmers (*wāstaryōšān*) spend their afterlife, but the celestial bodies of the water and the ground and the plants and the sheep are at the farmers' service.

In the tenth section of chapter 14 of the Parsig version, Vīrāf sees the spirit of the craftsmen sitting in a luminous place. This piece is not found in the Zoroastrian Persian version.

23. The content of 23rd episode corresponds to sections 1-14 of chapter 86 of the Parsig version but is longer than that one.

Zoroastrian Persian: This episode is the longest part of the Zoroastrian Persian version. Almost one third of the beginning of the text describes the spirits of the shepherds and their rewards. However more than two thirds of the text, a substantial amount of text, is about the philosophy of life, the difficulties of the world, and how to conduct one's life by struggling against greed, avidity and wickedness.

Parsig: The contents of the Parsig version are similar to that of the Zoroastrian Persian version but are not as detailed as the latter text.

24. The 24th episode corresponds to sections 4-7 of chapter 15 of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: Here the husbandmen (*kadxudā*), who have cultivated the world are celestial bodies, and the water and fire and ground and plants and trees are at their service in the Other World.

Parsig: The celestial bodies (*faravahr*) of the righteous and of water and plants are in the service of husbandmen (*kadag-xwadāyān*) and countrymen (*dahigān*).

In the 18th section of the 15th chapter of the Parsig version, Vīrāf sees the spirits of teachers and scholars who are rejoicing. This does not exist in the Zoroastrian Persian version.

25. The 25th episode corresponds to the 9th section of the 15th chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: Vīrāf sees the place of the intercessors and describes it extensively.

Parsig: The place of the intercessors is described in a single piece (XV.9). The description of the excellent world of the chaste is found in a single piece, too (XV.10), but no such description exists in the Zoroastrian Persian version.

26. The 26th episode corresponds to the 16th chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: Vīrāf arrives at a river which has been created by the tears of mourners and which the dead souls cannot pass through. Some dead souls are also submerged in this river.

Parsig: There are no souls submerged in the river. The mourning is described in the 57th chapter, but there it is only the women who mourn and weep.

27. The 27th episode corresponds to the 17th chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: The spirits of all evil-doing persons is described as a single one, in the third person singular. The Chinvad Bridge is described as a razor or a sword. The spirit says a prayer, the theme of which is non-religious; it does not address Ohrmazd and there is no mention of Ohrmazd in that phrase.

Parsig: The evil-doers' spirits are referred to both as a single unit in the third person singular and as a plural concept (in the third person plural). No description of Chinvad Bridge exists here. The spirit of the evil-doing persons says a Gathic prayer, which is shorter and is cited in Avestan.[186]

28. The 28th episode corresponds to the 18th chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: This is a description of the punishments of those who are captured in Hell.

Parsig: When three days and nights have passed, a spirit says: "Nine thousand years have passed upon me but I am not yet released". These same

[186] The Gathic formulation of the evil-doers' prayer is: *Uštā ahmāi yahmāi, uštā kahmāi čit*.

words are repeated in the 54th chapter as well. This passage is not found in the Zoroastrian Persian version.

29. The 29th episode corresponds to the 19th chapter of the Parsig version.

Here the spirits of sodomites that have been changed into snake-men and are being punished are described. The outward appearance of these spirits is different in the two versions.

30. The 30th episode corresponds to the 20th chapter of the Parsig version.

31. The 31st episode corresponds to the 21st chapter of the Parsig version but is longer than that one.

In this episode, the spirit who has killed a righteous man in the world is described.

32. The 32nd episode corresponds to the 22nd chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: Here the spirit of a man who has had sexual intercourse with a woman in her menstruation time is described.

Parsig: The measure of punishment for each time of intercourse is given. There is also another punishment for this sin, namely that the wrongdoer should cook and eat his most merited child.

33. The 33rd episode corresponds to the 23rd chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: Here the spirit that has not said any prayer while drinking water or eating vegetables and has not put on the sacred girdle and has walked around with only one shoe on is being punished. The punishment for the latter two sins sin is repeated in 35th episode as well.

Parsig: Only the sin of not saying prayer while drinking water and eating vegetables is mentioned here.

34. The 34th episode is about whoredom and corresponds to the 24th chapter of the Parsig version. It is repeated in the 81st Parsig chapter.

35. The 35th episode corresponds to the 25th chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: Here, again, the spirits that have not fastened the sacred girdle and have walked with one odd shoe on as well as those who have urinated while standing are punished.

Parsig: These spirits have, according to the Parsig version, also committed "other evil-doings".

36. The 36th episode corresponds to the 26th chapter of the Parsig version.

37. The 37th episode corresponds to the 27th chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: In this part, the spirit is described that has committed trade with false weights, cheating and mixing water in milk.

Parsig: These spirits mix water in wine. The sin of trade with false weights is repeated in the 67th and 80th chapters of the Parsig version, too.

38. The 38th episode corresponds to the 28th chapter of the Parsig version but is longer than that one.

Here spirits of tyrant kings in the present world are being punished.

39. The 39th episode corresponds to the 29th chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: Here the spirit of a man who has committed slander is being punished.

Parsig: This sin is repeated in the 66^{th} chapter, too. But there, both a man and a woman who have committed slander are mentioned.

40. The 40^{th} episode corresponds to the 30^{th} chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: The spirit of one who has killed many quadrupeds cruelly is punished.

Parsig: This sin is repeated in the 74^{th} chapter as well.

41. The 41^{st} episode corresponds to the 31^{st} chapter of the Parsig version. This chapter is twice as long in the Zoroastrian Persian version as in the Parsig version.

The spirit of one who has accumulated wealth but has neither used it himself nor has made any donations to others is described here.

42. The 42^{nd} episode corresponds to the 32^{nd} chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: The spirit of a man called Danus, whose single good deed was that he once with one foot threw some grass in front of a sheep that was tied far from its food is portrayed in such a way that one foot is shown to be outside of Hell.

Parsig: This man is called Dawānus and has thrown grass in front of a cow.

43. The 43^{rd} episode corresponds to the 33^{rd} chapter of the Parsig version.

This subject is about the punishment of liars and is repeated in the 90^{th} chapter.

44-46. The 44^{th}-46^{th} episodes correspond to the 44^{th}-46^{th} chapters of the Parsig version.

47. The 47^{th} episode corresponds to the 47^{th} chapter of the Parsig version but is longer than that one.

The spirit of people who were hypocrites and have deceived the masses and caused them to convert from Mazdā-worship to other religions is being punished here.

48. The 48^{th} episode corresponds to the 48^{th} chapter of the Parsig version.

49. The 49^{th} episode corresponds to the 34^{th} chapter of the Parsig version.

The spirit of a woman who has shown disrespect to the fire is being punished. There are different manners of disrespect to the fire in the two versions.

50. The 50^{th} episode corresponds to the 35^{th} chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: The spirit of a woman who has conjured magic and caused others to do the same thing is described.

Parsig: There is no word about causing others to do magic. Practicing magic by women is repeated in 81^{st} chapter.

51-52. The 51-52^{nd} episodes correspond to the 38^{th}-39^{th} chapters of the Parsig version.

53. The 53^{rd} episode and the 40^{th} chapter of the Parsig version are identical as regards the manner of punishment.

Zoroastrian Persian: Here, a man who deprived other people of their women is now carrying a mountain on his back.

Parsig: A man who has told lies and untrue words about others carries a mountain on his back.

This sin is repeated in the 60th chapter, the 71st chapter (in addition to the sin of sodomy) and the 88th chapter of the Parsig version.

54. The 54th episode is not found in the Parsig version, but it is similar to a part of the 72nd chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: The people who have taken their bath in the manner of the followers of other religions and have caused Isfandārmad and the Celestial soul (*mēnōg*) of water and of fire to be displeased with them are being punished.

Parsig: According to the 72nd chapter, women who have not cared for their menstruation caused Isfandārmad and water and fire to be disturbed.

55. The 55th episode corresponds to the 49th chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: The spirit of a man who has extracted heavy taxes (*xarāj-i garān*) on people's land and caused them to become refugees from their native home is being punished by getting a mountain on his back.

Parsig: Here several men who have committed this sin are mentioned as eating the filth and the corpse of others for their punishment. In addition to this, the demons also throw stones at them. Every spirit carries a large amount of these stones on his back.

56-58. The 56th-58th episodes correspond to the 50th-52nd chapters of the Parsig version.

59. The 59th episode corresponds to the 1st section of the 101st chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: Surūš and Urdībihišt lead Vīrāf from the dark and gloomy Hell into the glorious Paradise (*Garūtmān*).

Parsig: Vīrāf is led by Srōš and Ādur-yazd.

60. The 60th episode corresponds to the 2nd-12th sections of the 101st chapter of the Parsig version.

Zoroastrian Persian: The voice of Ohrmazd tells Vīrāf to come back to the world and tell the full truth of what he has seen and not to tell any lies, because Ohrmazd sees him. Then he advises him to tell people not to hesitate in the religion of Zarathustra and to be faithful, whether in wealth or poverty, and to do good deeds.

In the continuation of the text, repentance of sins, worshipping Ohrmazd and the religion, and cursing of the Demons and Ahriman are described. This part does not exist in the Parsig version.

Parsig: Ohrmazd does not warn Vīrāf of telling lies. He asks Vīrāf to tell what he has seen to people truthfully and inform them that the ancient religion and all other ways are misleading ways. The true religion is the very one that was revealed to you by Zarathustra on his part and was propagated by Wištāsp. This part does not exist in the Zoroastrian Persian version of the text.

Vīrāf then bows in front of Ohrmazd. He says that thereafter he is taken back to his own bed by Srōš. This part does not exist in the Zoroastrian Persian version.

Out of the Zoroastrian Persian version that includes an introduction and 60 episodes, three episodes are lacking in the Parsig version: 5, 15 and 16. The Zoroastrian Persian version thus comes to an end at the 60th episode. But the Parsig version has other chapters as well. Out of all the chapters of the Parsig version, altogether 101 chapters, the following do not exist in the Zoroastrian Persian version: 36-37, 41-43, 53-56, 58-59, 61-65, 68-70, 73, 75-78, 82-85, 87, 89, and 92-100, that is 39 chapters altogether. The subject of 38 of these 39 chapters is descriptions of punishments, and the subject of the one remaining chapter of the Parsig version (LXVIII) is a description both of the punishment of a woman and of the reward of a man.

General Review

A general review of the contents of the Zoroastrian Persian and Parsig versions reveals the following main characteristics of and differences between the two versions:

- The Parsig version is more voluminous than the Zoroastrian Persian version.
- The Parsig version is more religious than the Zoroastrian Persian version, because it contains more guidelines, particularly in its extra chapters. The subjects of these chapters are totally religious. However, not only these extra chapters have stronger religious contents.
- In the Parsig version, the sins and due to them, the punishments of women are more often treated than the sins and punishments of men. Many of these sins are about “disloyalty to the husband” and a few sins are concerned with “carelessness to infants” and other life matters.
- In the Parsig version, unlawful sexual relation between a man and women of others has been mentioned more than other sins (four times: in the 40th, 60th, 71st and 88th chapters).
- In the Parsig version, again and again, the pictures and descriptions of the Hell are brought forth. It describes Hell, once in chapter 18 and again in the 53rd and 54th chapters. It seems as if the two latter descriptions are indeed a mixed version of one account and as a result of this unskillful mixing the same picture of Hell appears twice.[187] It must be considered as an important point that the 53rd and 54th chapters of the Parsig version are not found in the Zoroastrian Persian version. It can be also supposed that

[187] Gignoux (1984), Utas (1989-1991) and Ġaybī (2001) have previously pointed out this repetition of the description of Hell in the Parsig version.

the picture of Hell in the Parsig version was procured by mixing some pictures of Hell taken from Ardāy-Vīrāf's travel report and various other Zoroastrian texts, and as a result of this, there is some repetition of sins and their punishment. However, these repeated passages are different in details.

- Only one matter has been repeated twice in the Zoroastrian Persian version, that is the sin of not having fastened the sacred girdle and walking while putting on one shoe.
- Vīrāf is frightened by the cries of those in Hell in the 53rd chapter of the Parsig version, and begs Srōš and Ādur-yazd not to lead him into Hell, but they assure him that he will not face any danger there. This chapter only occurs in the Parsig version. However, there is no word of Vīrāf being frightened of Hell anywhere in the Zoroastrian Persian version.
- Apart from the description of Paradise, a total of 20 types of rewards (*pādafrah*), are mentioned in the Zoroastrian Persian version. Among these there are 17 rewards for "people", 2 rewards for "men" and one for "women". Totally 11 rewards are mentioned in the Parsig version. There are 7 rewards for "people", 3 rewards for "a man" in singular form and one reward for "women".

Apart from the description of Hell, there are 31 cases of punishments in the Zoroastrian Persian version; 19 punishments for "a man" in singular form, 6 punishments for "a woman" in singular form and 6 punishments for "people" in general. A total of no less than 81 punishments are described in the Parsig version; 31 punishments for "a man" in singular form, 20 punishments for "a woman" in singular form, 19 punishments for "people" in general, 7 punishments for "a women" in plural form, 4 punishments for "a man and a woman" both in singular form. In one of these four cases, the woman is punished, but the man gets a reward.

Thus, the volume of subject matters about Paradise is much larger than the volume of subject matters about Hell in the Zoroastrian Persian version, a case which is completely reversed in the Parsig version. From this we see the most important characteristics of the Zoroastrian Persian version and the most important differences between the two versions. Since the Parsig version is more religious, perhaps the differences between rewards and punishments in the two versions is more important than their different historical settings (according to their introductions, one is set in Ardašīr-i Bābakān's time and the other one later than Ādurbād ī Māraspandān's time).

- Vīrāf's guides are Surūš and the Holy Immortal Urdībihišt in the Zoroastrian Persian version, and they are Srōš and Ādur-yazd in the Parsig version.

We can say that the reason why Urdībihišt amšāspand's name is found in the Zoroastrian Persian version instead of Ādur-yazd's name, is per-

haps because Urdībihišt amšāspand is so closely related to the fire as if they are one and the same being. According to the *Ṣaddar Naṯr,* Ohrmazd has chosen Fire as the Other World's king, but according to the *Ṣaddar Bundahiš,* Ohrmazd has chosen Urdībihišt amšāspand as the Other World's king (ṢDN 1909: XVIII.3; ṢDB 1909: LIV.34).

- Some of the names of persons, places and books in both the Zoroastrian Persian and the Parsig version are the same, but some names are found just in one of the two versions. The names only mentioned in the Zoroastrian Persian version are as follows: *ādarān*, *mīdīyūzarm*, *urvar*. The number of names mentioned only in the Parsig version are more numerous, namely: *aleksandar*, *aštād*, *ērān*, *ādur-yazd*, *ādur ī farrbay*, *ādurbād ī māraspandān*, *gayōmard*, *kay-wištāsp*, *rašn*, *frašōštar*, *wāy*, *wahrām*, *wēh-šābu*[*h*]*r*, *jāmāsp*, *isadwāstar*, *hrōmāyīg*, *muzrāyīg*, *diz ī nibišt*, *staxr*, *dēn-kard*, *dāiti*.

IX. Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma: from a shamanistic epic into a Zoroastrian narration

The Iranian myths have been transformed and have changed into a new religious form twice due to religious transformations of the society. The first time, the Indian and the Iranian gods of pre-Zoroastrianism were transformed into a Zoroastrian form to survive.

The Iranians and the Indians were very close to each other when it came to their languages and religion. The language of the *Avesta* is so close to the language of the Vedas that the discoveries of Rasmus Rask in the year 1826 about the relationships between the Avestan language and Sanskrit was one of the first steps towards exploring the Avestan grammar, which was later for the first time described in detail by Williams Jackson in 1892 (Jackson 1892: xv). The ancient Iranian religion was closely related to the contemporary Indian religion in the pre-Zoroastrian times (Widengren 1965: 7-8). Furthermore, traces of the same distinct social classes of ancient India can also be found in ancient Iran (Dumézil 1958: 7-8; Benveniste 1969: 279-292).

Dumézil concluded from a research about the significant pre-Vedic gods, whose names have been mentioned in Younger *Avesta* as well, that these gods were common to the Iranians and the Indians. Proving his view, he presented the Boghazköi treaty document which is a cuneiform inscription in the Hittite language. According to this inscription from the 14th century B.C., the Aryan king, Matiwaza mentioned five gods: these are Mitrá, Váruṇa, Índra, and the two Nāsatyas (Dumézil 1952: 5-39). However, the names and the functions of these gods in the *Avesta* are not the same as those of the Iranian pre-Zoroastrian gods.

The above-mentioned gods of Zoroastrianism became divided into two groups: gods and demons: Ahura Mazdāh and Miθra have taken the place of Váruṇa and Mitrá of the Indo-Iranian religion in the group of the gods, but Indra and Nåṅhaiθya (Índra and the two Nāsatyas in the Vedic tradition) are placed in the group of the demons (ibid.). In this manner, the ancient Iranian and the pre-Zoroastrian myths were changed into a different form and were melded into a perfect Zoroastrian synthesis as found in the *Avesta* (Hinnells 1973: 20).

When Zoroastrianism was accepted in the Iranian society, in addition to the gods and religious tenets of the society, a number of the myths and epics

with their heroes from the pre-Zoroastrianism epoch were converted into Zoroastrian form and color. Every nation that accepts a new religion will in the course of time re-interpret some of its mores and traditions or even some of its old beliefs and incorporate them into this new religion with a new appearance. Sometimes they attribute old moral values to the great characters of the new religion to give these characters more validity and popularity. Moreover, they sometimes try to make the heroes or religious champions of their ancient times survive either with the same name and particularity or sometimes in a new form and appearance (Mujtabā'ī 2000: 27).

For the first time, Pierre de Menasce, while doing research into the type of the Wahrām-yazd (=God Bahrām),[188] has described this kind of transformations of the pre-Zoroastrian mythic and epic personages of Iran into Zoroastrian types (de Menasce 1948: 5-18).[189] Garšāsp is such a type from this gallery of mythic personalities. Garšāsp, in *Avesta* Kərəsāspa-, carries the family name of Sāma-.[190] According to some parts of the ancient narrations that are left here and there Garšāsp has been characterized with the function of a saviour. However, in Zoroastrianism, besides a bleaching of his character, his function as a saviour has also been committed to the three saviours in Zoroastrianism. However, some shadows of his saviour's function remain (Sarkārātī 1999'b': 256-261).

The second transformation in myths occurred after the time when Iranians were conquered by the Arab Muslims in the Sasanid epoch. A mixing with Semitic myths is one of the most distinguished characteristics of the Iranian myths of this period. If the myths deeply founded in the society are to remain in a community which has accepted a new religion with new rituals, they must change their appearance somewhat (Ṣaddīqiyān 1997: 287). In this perspective, the Iranians try to adapt their myths to the *isrā'īliyyāt* (Semitic myths) to make them survive. Knowing about the need for such adaptations, Bīrūnī introduces the reason for them on the part of the Iranians. There was a growing competition between the Iranians and the Arabs concerning which people was more noble or higher. The Arabs attributed themselves to Ibrāhīm (Abraham) who was a forefather in Islam, but the Iranians wished to compete with them (Bīrūnī 1984: 177).[191] In other words, the Iranians

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[188] De Menasce has specially profited from two texts for his study, the first one in Parsig (MS.S.P. 2045) and the other one in Zoroastrian Persian (M55).

[189] Dragon-killing was one of the most important functions of the pre-Zoroastrian gods, but dragon-killing has been intentionally avoided as an attribute of the gods both in *Avesta* and in the other Zoroastrian works (Sarkārātī 1999'a': 105-106). See also Wikander's studies concerning this issue (Wikander 1941: 133).

[190] The name of this personality is mentioned in two forms in Parsig works. It has been written in the form of Sām (MX 1985: XXVI.49; LXI.4, 20) in the *Mēnō ī Xrad*, and in the form of Kers[ā]sp (PRDd 1990: XVIIIf.1-36) in the *Pahlavi Rivāyat*. It has also been recorded inthe form of Garšāsp (ṢDB 1909: XX.1-66) in Zoroastrian Persian works.

[191] This part was not included in the manuscripts that Sachau profited from in order to edit Āṯār-al-bāqiya. Thus, the translation in Persian by Akbar Dānā-Sirišt has been used here.

wished both to make their own myths (legends) survive and to indicate their faith in the unique God through relating their mythic personages to the Semitic legends. In this manner, a large number of Iranian myths were adapted to their Semitics models. For example, Kiyūmarṯ (Gayōmard) was adapted to Adam (Tārīx-i sīstān 1935: 2), Jamšīd was known as Solomon (Ibn-i Nadīm 1871: 309) and Ṭahmūraṯ/Tahmūraṯ (Parsig: *Tahmurit*; Av.: *Taxmō-urupa*-) was known as Noah (Mas'ūdī 1964: 1.123).

Many of the narrations and epics of the Iranian-Zoroastrian myths were adapted to Semitic myths and narrations during this process, and thus they changed in appearance, form or theme. For example, Rustam became one of the prophet's Noah children (Tajārib ul-'umam 1994: 59), Farīdūn was equated with Nimrod (Dīnavarī 1911: 7) and Manūčihr was presented as one of the children of Isaac, the son of Abraham (Ṭabarī 1879-1881: 1.433).[192]

Since the myths, the epics and the narrations were rarely recorded in writing during the period before the Indo-Iranian religion changed into Zoroastrianism, the transformation of their themes and forms into the myths and Zoroastrian religious narrations must have happened more easily than at the period of transformation of the Zoroastrian legends into Islamic form. During this second transition, many of the Iranian myths and narrations as well as the history of various epochs had been recorded in writing in the form of epics and myths, e.g. in the *Avesta*, the *Xwadāy-Nāmag*s, the Pahlavānīg (Parthian/Pahlavi) and the Parsig works during early Islamic times.

Unfortunately, there are not many original accounts of pre-Zoroastrian Iranian works that may show to what extent texts have been changed by being restructured in Zoroastrian times. This is, of course, due to the fact that there are very few such accounts from pre-Zoroastrian times at hand in different languages, including in Zoroastrian Persian. However, some few scattered short specimens of pre-Zoroastrian works are to be found here and there. In comparing these with what has been rewritten in the Zoroastrian period, the elimination of earlier themes on the basis of Zoroastrian philosophy can be discovered in accounts where we both have a pre-Zoroastrian and a later Zoroastrian version. The previously mentioned example of Wahrām-yazd belongs to the obvious examples of this.

Among the transformed Iranian narratives, Ardāy-Vīrāf's journey report is a special case, because it has changed in form and theme both due to the conversion of the Iranian society from its ancient religion (Indo-Iranian) into Zoroastrianism and then after the change of religion in Iran from Zoroastrianism to Islam.

[192] The domain of adaptation was even extended to the names of places, in such a manner that one of Anāhīd's (the goddess of the water) probable temples was changed into the Bībī-Šahrbānū shrine. According to popular legends of the Shiites, she is Yazdgird's daughter, the latest king of Sasanids, and the wife of Imam Ḥusayn, the third religious leader of the Shiites (Boyce 1967: 36-38).

Most of the scholars who have studied the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, believe that it belongs to the most ancient Iranian works, whether its present form originates in the Sasanid period or later. Tavadia (1956: 117) finds the marks influences of the Magians of Acheamenids times on both the Zoroastrian and the genuine Iranian customs throughout the text of this work. Widengren (1961: 13) is of the opinion that the text has been written in the Sasanid period, but many topics are certainly more ancient. Boyce (1968'a': 48) believes that the work originates from very old days; because the name of Wīrāz was mentioned already in the *Avesta*. Tafaẓẓulī (1991: 733) also believes that the main core of the subject of the book belongs to Avestan times. Boyce and Grenet (1991: 430) are of the opinion that "the belief that the stars were nearer to the earth than the moon or sun marks the antiquity of the story".[193] However, the main reason why the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* must be seen as an ancient narration is the use of the name of Wīrāz (Vīrāf), who is mentioned in the *Fravardīn Yašt*, the 13th Yašt of *Avesta*.

According to some pieces of evidence from the *Fravardīn Yašt* itself, this text must have been created in either pre-Achaemenid times or in the early days of this royal dynasty (Christensen 1928: 34-35, 44-45). In this Yašt there is recorded a list of characters who are eulogized for the sake of their good essence. Wīrāz (Vīrāf) is one of these:

> We eulogize the essence of the pure religion of Wīrāz. (*Fravardīn Yašt*: XXV. 101).[194]

The mention in the second part of the Fravardīn Yašt of the heroes of Mazdaism from Gayōmart to Saōšyānt occurs in a series of 7 groups. In verses 96-110 one finds the names of the first apostles of Zoroastrianism and its first champions, most of them belonging to the cycle of king Wištāspa (Duchesne-Guillemin 1962: 38; Boyce 2001: 200).

It is necessary to take into consideration that these names were sacred, popular and famous or had a social place in the pre-Zoroastrian Iranian society, and have been transformed and incorporated into Zoroastrianism. Some of them, e.g. Miθra, Wahrām and Garšāp have previously been mentioned. Wīrāz (Vīrāf) could also be among them. The personality of Wīrāz (Vīrāf) must be such a popular and important name that the authors and composers, while composing the *Fravardīn Yašt*, were not able to renounce him. It was even necessary to praise him. The reason for such importance and popularity was nothing but Vīrāf's journey to the Other World. There is nothing else very important in the story except that journey. Some other issues, such as the diversification of Zoroastrian beliefs, the shaky faith of the masses, and the virtuousness or innocence of Vīrāf are matters, which have been men-

[193] Refer also to Henning 1942: 230.

[194] See also Geldner 1886-1896; Westergaard 1852-54: I.238; Wolff 1924: 244; Lommel 1927: 125.

tioned in the introduction of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, as if they are important issues, but certainly they are minor topics.

With respect to the antiquity of Vīrāf's personality, his journey to the Other World can be reviewed from a new point of view. This present version can be considered as a transformed form of the story. The issue of a journey to the Other World is here on the basis of the Zoroastrian Persian version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* believed to be a pre-Zoroastrian shamanistic concept, and it is therefore likely that Vīrāf was not initially a pure and innocent Zoroastrian but an Iranian shaman who travelled to the Other World, who saw the places of pleasures and the joyful ones on the one hand and the places of torment and the unfortunate ones on the other hand, places later renamed Paradise and Hell. Then, after coming back, he recounted what he had seen there. But, the original philosophy behind this journey and the main reasons for reporting it are questions that may be answered in a totally convincing way only by having in hand the original and the authentic version of the story, which we do not have, at least at present. In other words, there is nothing available to give a total understanding of Vīrāf's aim of travelling to the Other World. Thus, it is not clearly known if his motif for travelling to the Other World was a religious passion or if the report of his journey was an epical narrative.[195]

As a piece of evidence for recognizing Vīrāf as a Shaman, one can point to the similarities of his situation and that of the Shamans. Eliade believes that the central part of Shamanism is established in an ecstasy experience. Shamanism is a path to knowledge that will be possible through a person who experiences visiting the spirits in ecstasy. The Shaman thus specializes in journeys to the Other World in ecstasy. The spirit of a Shaman will stroll about; ascending to the sky and descending into the underworld, or every other place where mighty spirits are reposed (Eliade 1964: 5, 50f). Nyberg has presented a very precise and full study about the diverse rites of Shamanism among different tribes from central Asia to the north of Europe. Some of these rites that will be mentioned below are very important for verifying the hypothesis of Vīrāf's Shamanism. Among the various means used by the Shamans in different tribes in order to facilitate their journey and to put them in touch with the spirits are the use of distilled wine and narcotic (opiate) liquids, which induce a hypnotic state in the Shaman. The purpose of this state is to get the answers of his own or others' questions and to finally be able to report to the spectators of his journey to the Other World (Nyberg 1937: 187-193).[196] All these rituals are compatible with the ceremonies performed to achieve Vīrāf's journey. That is not surprising, since the ascension to heaven was one of the Ancient Iranian traditions in central Asia,

[195] Bīžan Ġaybī believes that the Zoroastrian Persian version was originally a secular-epic narration (Ġaybī 2001: 8).

[196] This, however, does not mean that Zarathustra was also a Shaman.

where Zoroastrianism both arose and developed in its early stages. This is a tradition which is still continued by the Shamans in Russia (Siberia and Central Asia) (Daryāyī 2001: 4).[197] All these facts make up some clear evidence for Vīrāf being a Shaman.

The fact that the name of Wīrāz (Vīrāf) was mentioned in *Fravardīn Yašt*, means that the first religious men, who produced the *Fravardīn Yašt*, were acquainted with Vīrāf's journey report.[198] Since there is no mention of Vīrāf's journey in the *Fravardīn Yašt*, it is not possible to know the exact circumstances of the pre-Zoroastrianism version of the story and how it has been transformed into a religious-Zoroastrian account. In other words, it is not possible to find out what has been added to or omitted from the pre-Zoroastrian version in comparison with what has been left to present times. Thus, the only way forward in order to elucidate the matter is to consider what has been added to the earliest versions of the account. These added parts will indicate what direction the text has taken, and thus how it has deviated from the main subject. This is possible only through gaining access to a version which is more intact. Here it will be argued that the Zoroastrian Persian version and to a more limited extent the Pazand version are more intact and can make this argument possible.[199]

Concerning the introduction of the text, Haug and West believe that the original story most probably did not have one (Haug-West 1872: Lxxiii). According to this view, first an introduction to the text and the historical

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[197] Gignoux points to the anthropologic similarities between the two cultures of ancient Iran and Siberia in a study about Shamanism in Iran (Gignoux 1979: 41-79).

[198] There is a couplet in the Zoroastrian Persian version of the *Mēnō ī Xrad*, which has been versified by Dārāb Hurmazdyār Sanjāna in the year 1046 Yazdgerdi/1677 A.D. According to that couplet, Vīrāf's time precedes Guštāsp's period (MS.S.P.38: 17b). This couplet pronounces to Guštāsp:

به مینو تو گشتاسپ شادان شوی / چو ویراف آن جای خود بنگری

Ba mīnū tu Guštāsp šādān šavī / čū Vīrāf ān jāyi xwad bingarī "Oh Guštāsp, you will be cheerful in Paradise/ when you see your place there, like Vīrāf." This couplet reveals clearly that Vīrāf's journey is seen to have occurred before Guštāsp's journey to the other world. Guštāsp was contemporary with Zarathustra and his most significant defender.

Dārāb Hurmazdyār has either quoted this couplet from another place or added it to the text later on or he has profited from another source than the presently available version of the Parsig text to in his versification of the *Mēnō ī Xrad*. However, this couplet assumes that Vīrāf has visited the other world earlier than Guštāsp. The time of Vīrāf should thus have preceded that of Guštāsp and Zarathustra. This will here be taken as evidence that the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* was originally an ancient text related to the times prior to Zarathustra. Thus the conclusion drawn is that it was a secular pre-Zoroastrian account that later was changed into a religious-Zoroastrian account.

It must be said that the poem versified by Dārāb Hurmazdyār has some other parts in addition to the above-mentioned couplet which are not found in the *Mēnō ī Xrad* in Parsig. Among them, there is a section related to Zarathustra's knowledge of medicine, which was edited and published by the author of this study (Kārgar 2008: 307-324).

[199] Since this study is concentrated to the Zoroastrian Persian version, here neither the transformations nor the differences between the Pazand and the Parsig and the Zoroastrian Persian versions have been studied in detail.. Only relevant cases of these differences are noted.

personages of the introduction must have been added, then they have changed due to the historic situation of each new epoch. According to the introduction of the Pazand version, Vīrāf's journey took place in the time of Guštāspa[200] (Antia 1909: 358).[201] But according to Zoroastrian Persian version, the journey happened in Ardašīr Bābakān's time. Vīrāf travelled to the Other World later than Ādurbād ī Māraspandān, according to the Parsig version, that is in the Sasanid era.

According to the Zoroastrian Persian version, Vīrāf's journey takes place in the time of Ardašīr Bābakān. However, according to what has been said in the introduction, there is no need to send a messenger to the Other World at that time. In other words, the causes for sending Vīrāf to the Other World in the Zoroastrian Persian version do not seem reasonable. In fact, the aim of Vīrāf's journey projected to the time of Ardašīr is just to support the codification the *Avesta* by Ardašīr, and to disprove the value of other Zoroastrian schools by a confirmation of his act through a superhuman force from the Other World.

There is no indication in the journey report about the dismissal of the various schools of Zoroastrianism other than the understanding of the religion which Ardašīr established as the only correct one. In fact, Vīrāf neither asks Ohrmazd or the *amšāspandān* (Holy Immortals) any question about the subject which in the introduction is presented as the central aim of his journey nor is any message given to him in the Other World regarding this matter. In the Parsig version Vīrāf's journey, which is described as having occurred at a time after Ādurbād ī Māraspandān, seems to be a useless and an unreasonable journey as well. According to the introduction of that version, Vīrāf was sent to the Other World to find out whether the gods or the demons benefit from the praises which the masses do in religious duties. But according to the story, Vīrāf neither asks any question about that matter in the Other World nor does he bring any message back with himself to resolve this issue. Ohrmazd merely says to Vīrāf at the end of his journey that there is only one way of righteousnees, that is the way of the first teachers of the Mazdean religion (*pōryōtkēšīh*), and the other ways are all misleading.

In the introduction to the Pazand version it is stated that Vīrāf's journey took place immediately after the death of Zarathustra, in the times of Guštāsp's reign. It seems that this date is more plausible than the date mentioned in the introductions to the Parsig and Zoroastrian Persian versions. It seems more necessary that such a travel should take place in the

[200] It is surprising that this name has been written in the form of Guštāspa in the Pazand account. This name should have been recorded in the form of Wīštāsp in the Pazand, which is certainly a re-written text of the Parsig version.

[201] According to the Sanskrit version, Vīrāf's journey occurred in the time of Guštāspo (Haug-West 1872: Lxxviii). Bharucha believes that both the Sanskrit and the old Gujarati versions are translated from the Pazand version (Bharucha 1920: II).

times of Guštāsp, that is after the prophet passed away, since all over the world, the first crisis in most religions takes place at such a time.

Social movements and revolutionary events just after the death of the leaders and founders of a new state or ideology are manifold throughout history. Such a crisis causes the beginning of division, unfaithfulness among the believers and restraint of the primary development and growth of either a religious or a socio-political movement, and it often follows after the disenchantment of the adherents in the earlier beliefs. Zoroastrianism could hardly have been an exception from this general rule. Additionally, it must be taken into consideration that the religious canons and social law codes of Zarathustra's religion had not been written down yet at the time of his death, especially those parts that are mentioned as paradigms in Widēwdad. Thus, the religious leaders and the priests could not yet profit from such texts to solve the religious and social issues arisen in the absence of Zarathustra. The Zoroastrian leaders could therefore only find one solution as the best remedy after the death of Zarathustra, when this situation arose, and that was to call for an answer from the Other World, a way that was not available to everyone. The best way known to them of achieving this aim was to profit from the pre-Zoroastrian Iranian story of Vīrāf's journey to the Other World. So, they changed Vīrāf's journey report, which was ready and available, into a journey to the territories of Ohrmazd undertaken by the most virtuous Zoroastrian of the time.

However, the changes and transformations in Vīrāf's story could not have taken place at a single instant. It is clear in the various versions of the work that many changes have occurred during the re-writing and translating the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* into different languages in different times. The changes in the text from a pre-Zoroastrian to a Zoroastrian version have been kept until the tenth or eleventh centuries A.D. (Gignoux 1969: 998-1004). Every new change has caused Vīrāf's story to be more and more devoid of its pre-Zoroastrian meaning. The differences between the various versions of the same story provided in different times give evidence to that. For example, there are important differences between the themes of the Zoroastrian Persian prose version and the Zoroastrian Persian version versified by Zaratušt Bahrām (1964), and that one is also different from the Zoroastrian Persian version versified by Anūšīrvān Kirmānī (Unvālā 1922: II.331-342). Also the Parsig and Pazand versions fit this picture. These diversities are greater than what could be supposed as mistakes or interferences done by the scribes. This same matter indicates that, in fact, the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* has been re-written on several occasions while copied or translated in the course of time. Just for this reason, the re-written text has deviated more and more from its pre-Zoroastrian origin.

It may be supposed that the differences of versions are due to an oral tradition. That is to say that since some of the religious men, believers and

followers have learned these texts by heart, then while retelling (transferring) the account to the next generation, or while writing and re-writing it, these differences in the Parsig, Pazand and Zoroastrian Persian versions have come into being due to carelessness, something which is very common in oral traditions. The oral traditions cannot be denied, however, they have gone hand in hand with written traditions. For example, in Iran according to a thousand year old habit, some Muslims still learn precisely by heart the Quran, numerous other Islamic holy texts and some long devotional prayers. However, this is not in opposition to the written tradition, which nowadays has changed into the printing technology.

Something similar can have happened to the oral and written Zoroastrians texts. Even a very small change could not be acceptable in a text like the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, while learning it by heart, which is one of the most important religious prescriptions. If this has occurred, it would be an insignificant mistake and limited to the replacement of a maximum of a few words. However, it is impossible that the name of a king be exchanged from Guštāsp to Ardašīr in an oral version, or that the name of a king significant for Zoroastrianism as Ardašīr is left out totally. Likewise, it is not reasonable that the main subject of the story, that is the reason for Vīrāf's journey to the Other World, will be transferred into a new story in each new version, where even a number of new reasons are added and intermingled.

Also another important point must be kept in mind. In the copying tradition of the East, the scribes used to compare a newly written manuscript with the original text after the manuscript was copied.[202] If either a word or a sentence was omitted by the scribe, it was added in the margin of the manuscript. If any other mistake had happened while the text was rewritten, that would also be noted in the margin. Apart from this, many of the manuscript owners and even many readers of these manuscripts have written in the margin of the book the meaning of a word, a parallel expression or some other additional information. It could then happen that these notes in the margin were later added to the actual text, because some scribe supposed that they were notations of something neglected by the previous scribe.[203] This would still give a coherent text if the scribe was initiated in the matter, but when the scribe was just a copyist and had no special knowledge about the subject of the book he was copying, which happened very often, there was often no relation between the subject of the text and what was later added to it. The

[202] In Iran, this is known as *'arẓ-dādan* which means 'to compare'.

[203] An exemple of this has occurred in *Kitāb al-Ṣaydana fi'l-Ṭibb* by Abū-Rayḥān Bīrūnī. The main text of the book is written by Šayx Aḥmad Bayhaqī, and then Abū-Rayḥān Bīrūnī has written a commentary for the drugs in the margin of that work. The scribe then mixed together the marginal notes of Abū-Rayḥān and the main text of Šayx Aḥmad to form the body text of the book. Muḥammad ibn-i Mas'ūd Ġaznavī later obtained a copy of the book and noted in the margin that it had been mixed up (Zaryāb 1991: twelve-thirteen). Note that in this case the marginal notes were added to the book itself, and were written by someone as Bīrūnī who was more knowledgeable than the writer of the text, that is Šayx Aḥmad Bayhaqī.

presence of two couplets of *Šāhnāma* by Firdausī in the Pazand version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* represents an example of the addition of something likely to have been written in the margin of a manuscript.[204]

Tavadia says that the Pazand account is more ancient than the other narrations since the text is more cohesive and logical than the other versions (Tavadia 1956: 118). According to this and considering that no work has ever been written directly in Pazand, there must have existed another version different from this present Parsig version, a version which is the mother of the Pazand account and from which the Pazand version has been transcribed into Avestan characters.

Meanwhile, one question is how ancient the introduction of the Zoroastrian Persian version is? Unfortunately, it may never be known if the source of Shapur Āsā's manuscript was the first manuscript of the Zoroastrian Persian version or if it was a copy. However, the original text from which the translation into Zoroastrian Persian was done was undoubtedly in the Parsig language. The differences between the Zoroasrian Persian version and the present-Parsig version make it likely that there was still another ancient version, different from the present Parsig account. Thus, it must be concluded that there have been three Parsig versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. The Pazand version has been copied from the first one, then the Zoroastrian Persian version was translated from the second one, and the third one is the Parsig version available today.

The Ideological Changes of the Text

Now, how and why has Vīrāf's journey report changed?

The transformation of the personages and their functions from pre-Zoroastrian ideas into Zoroastrianism and from Zoroastrianism into Islam has been discussed above, and some examples of this were given as well. The *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is about as close as we can come at present to a single text which exists in various ancient and new versions and which may reveal the nature of these changes, since versions of this work from different times and in different languages are at our disposal.

The Zoroastrian priests try to get an answer from the Other World in order to prevail over the critical situation that occurred after the death of Zarathustra. The pre-Zoroastrian (Indo-Iranian) report of Vīrāf's journey to the Other World was already at their disposal, and in addition to this, no one was able to stand up against the inspired answer from the Other World. Thus, it was necessary to change Vīrāf's journey report from a pre-

[204] It is an interesting point that these two verses have been written in a handwriting other than the scribe's handwriting in one of the manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma,* that is in M (H28) manuscript, on the very first page where the title of the work has been recorded.

Zoroastrian document into a religious Zoroastrian account. This is an ideological change, the trace of which may be found in the later manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*.

This ideological change means a kind of religious censorship. When the priests could neither make nor wish a particular work to disappear from the literacy scene, they changed it in an ideological manner. They had to do this if they needed the work to remain. In such cases they tried either to overlook or to make pale the previous essential idea of the work. Thus, they sometimes tried to keep the vital principle of the work, but that which was related to the main idea and the principal teachings of the work would be deleted (Šafī'ī Kadkanī 2008: 177). Changing the names of the personages, either promotion or demotion of the religious personalities' position, are all some of the most significant examples of ideological changes of a work. Sometimes, they even exchange the name of the work to lessen its importance.[205] However, the story does not end there. Other examples of these transformations are a number of ideological terms which were changed when the society changed. The replacement of names in addition to the attribution of someone's sayings to others due to ideological tendencies are some of these cases (Šafī'ī Kadkanī 2004: 95). In this manner, the ideological transformation has turned variant readings in the various manuscripts into hiding places for historical facts. In other words, these variants are like battlefields of different ideologies (Ibid: 106).[206] However, these ideological changes are not only noticeable in the variants of an original manuscript. When a text was translated into other languages, the ideological transformations were also abundant. In a case like the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, the translator is actually much freer than the scribe to change the text. Thus, many of the ancient religious manuscripts have not disappeared due to natural events like floods, fire accidents etc., but the ideological administrators of the society have removed them knowingly and intentionally in order that no one may find out about the ideological transformations in these works (Ibid: 107).[207]

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[205] One of the works where the title has been changed while translating is a Karrāmī text from the Islamic period. The original title was *Qiṣaṣ al-qur'ān* (Tales from the Qur'an), and it was written in the scientific language of the time, that is in Arabic, in the year 467 A.H./1074 A.D. However, the title was changed to *Qiṣaṣ al-'anbiyā'* (Stories of the prophets) when the text was translated into Persian three centuries later (Šafī'ī Kadkanī 2008: 180).

[206] "It is not easy to find the central points or the ideological battlefields within a text. For example, eliminating or adding a couplet may occur in every manuscript, but it might not be possible for an ordinary reader to understand why this couplet is eliminated or added" (Šafī'ī Kadkanī 2004: 96).

[207] The point that the ideological transformation of a work is different from the changes caused by the scribes must be considered. Due to the cultural and linguistic changes in the society, sometimes the scribes have changed words and expressions, due to the 'aural' or 'oral' difficulties in these texts to people's understanding (Šafī'ī Kadkanī 2004: 96). (I am grateful to Mr. Nādir Muṭallabī Kāšānī who has put both Šafī'ī Kadkanī's studies at my disposal.)

The ideological transformation of a work does not occur all at once but during various phases and in a process of repeated re-writings. In his studies on the *Munājāt* or *Ilāhī-nāma* of ʻAbdu'llāh Anṣārī, Bo Utas writes that altogether the various sources of the text of *Munājāt* differ greatly from each other in contents, in arrangement and in wording. He holds that "these texts have, no doubt, grown and changed incessantly during the centuries" (Utas 2008: 71-72). The conditions may have been the same regarding the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. Additionally, the ideological transformation of the subject of this work has occurred not only while it was being re-written but also at the time of translation.

Although the ideological changes have caused the Zoroastrian Persian version to deviate from its original form,[208] there are two characteristics in this text that distinguish it from other versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. Firstly, a few very ancient passages in this version do not seem to differ very much from what could have been produced in a pre-Zoroastrian society, and secondly, this version is freer of later additions than the other versions. These two characteristics are very important and two conclusions may be drawn in the light of them. The first one is that the Zoroastrian Persian version was originally a pre-Zoroastrian (Indo-Iranian) narrative and the second one is that the Zoroastrian Persian version is the most ancient version of this work at our disposal.

The transformation of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* from an pre-Zoroastrian Iranian text into a religious-Zoroastrian account is not so astonishing. Using pre-Zoroastrian elements by Zoroastrians has a long past record. More than one thousand years ago, Bīrūnī writes that "the ancient Magians existed already before the time of Zoroaster, but now there is no pure, unmixed portion of them who do not practice the religion of Zoroaster. In fact, they belong now either to the Zoroastrians or to the *Shamsiyya* (sun-worshipers). Still, they have some ancient traditions and institutes, which they trace back to their original creed; but in reality those things have been derived from the laws of the sun-worshipers and the ancient people of Ḥarrān" (Bīrūnī 1879: 314).[209]

In the following argument reference will be made to many passages of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* story where changes and transformations occur. The presence of these passages in one of the Zoroastrian Persian or Parsig ver-

[208] Although the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in its Parsig version has been the subject of multiple changes and transformations, more so than the other versions, and has been converted into a religious-Zoroastrian form, the Zoroastrian Persian version has also experienced ideological changes in a few cases. An example is the last episode, the sixtieth, in which some parts of a Zoroastrian *Petīt-nāmag* (confession) has been added. This has been explained in the commentary.

[209] This above-mentioned quotation of Bīrūnī was translated by Sachau from the original text (Bīrūnī 1878: 318). The Persian translator of same work, *Āṯār-al-bāqiyya*, has translated the term "Šamsiyya" into "the Religion of Mihr" (Mithraism) (Bīrūnī 1984: 507). See also two works on "Šamsiyya": (Jackson 1899: 140-143; Moulton 1913: 226-253).

sions and the absence of them in other versions clearly indicates in what manner the Vīrāf's report has deviated as a result of ideological changes from its original Iranian pre-Zoroastrian (Indo-Iranian) account and changed into a religious-Zoroastrian text.[210]

Meanwhile, it must be kept in mind that in the comparison between the two versions, it is only the additions that may be seen as Zoroastrian phenomena that are of interest in this argument. For example, the lance ordeal, which was Vīrāf's suggestion for the final choice of a suitable person for the journey to the Other World, is not an interesting addition, since this motive is not known as a Zoroastrian phenomenon.

The parts of the Zoroastrian Persian version that will be mentioned here, have been extracted from the edited text as in the present thesis. Thus the numbering of the lines follows this edition. The numbering of the chapters and the paragraphs in the Parsig version follow the edition and transcription by Gignoux (1984).

- According to the Zoroastrian Persian version King Ardašīr calls all the authorities and scholars from all over the country to find out which one is the true version of the Zoroastrian religion (lines 8-13). The king has decided to send someone to the Other World to find the answer to his question.[211] This points to the king's power as the most high-ranking authority of decision in the country. But, according to the Parsig version it is the *mūbadān* (the Zoroastrian priests) who decide to send someone to the Other World (I.14-15). Replacing the king by the Zoroastrian priests as the high authorities for making decisions is one of the changes that demonstrates that the text becomes religious during later periods.
- According to the Zoroastrian Persian version the Zoroastrian priests make Vīrāf drink the wine of *sih-yakī*. The wine of *sih-yakī* has no religious connotation. However, according to the Parsig version, Zoroastrian priests make Vīrāf drink the *may u mang ī Wištāspān* (wine and henbane) (II.15-16). These drinks are well known in Zoroastrian texts.[212]
- To wash Vīrāf ceremoniously the priests choose a place of thirty paces away from the fire in the Parsig version (II.11), which is obviously one of the Zoroastrian additions. One of the obligations of Zoroastrianism for cleanliness is that every person who does this ceremonial washing should carry it out on a place thirty paces from the fire or every other sacred thing (Shaked 1995: XI.25). In the Zoroastrian Persian version there is no such choice of place.

[210] A number of these passages have also been studied in the chapter "The Zoroastrian Persian version in comparison with the Parsig version" of this work. But these passages are here compared with each other in a different way and with a different purpose.

[211] It is an astonishing point that there is no mentioning of this in the introduction. Only from the reply given to the king it is clear that he wishes to send someone to the other world.

[212] Refer either to the paragraphs 83-87 of chapter four of book seven in the *Dēnkard* or to chapter 47 of the *Pahlavi Rivāyat* about this topic (Gignoux 1984: 152).

- According to the Zoroastrian Persian version, the seven sisters of Vīrāf come along to prevent him from being sent to the Other World after hearing the story (lines 45-51). But, in the Parsig account, these women are not only the Vīrāf's sisters but they are his wives too (II.1). This transformation of Vīrāf's sisters into his wives and sisters might have occurred during Sasanid times when the Zoroastrian priests particularly recommended the act of *xwēdōdah* 'same kin-marriage'. Another example of the *xwēdōdah* custom is a change that can be seen is Wištāsp's (Guštāsp's) story. In *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram*, Hutōs (Avestan: *hutaosā-*) is Wištāsp's wife.[213] But she is both his wife and sister according to *Ayādgār ī Zarērān*. Besides, the name of Hutōs is mentioned four times in the *Avesta*, but there is no mention that she is the sister of Wištāsp (Ġaybī 2003: 378-388).[214]
- In the Parsig version, Vīrāf's sisters make a request from the Zoroastrian priests for their brother to not be sent to the Other World (II.2). It is not clear in the Zoroastrian Persian version of whom the sisters ask that. However, according to the versified version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* by Zartušt Bahrām Pajdū, Vīrāf's sisters make this request from the King, and not from the priests (Ġaybī 2001: 7-8). On considering that the Zoroastrian Persian version might be the source of Zartušt Bahrām for the composition of his versified story (Haug-West 1872: xix), probably the text that served as a source for Zartušt Bahrām was more ancient, less religious and less retouched than the present Zoroastrian Persian prose version.
- According to the Parsig version, Vīrāf's sisters/wives are among the Zoroastrian believers, since they know the *Avesta* by heart. They are also worshippers (II.2). However, nowhere in the Zoroastrian Persian version is there any indication that Vīrāf's sisters are among the Zoroastrian believers.
- In the Zoroastrian Persian version, Surūš says to Vīrāf that he should advise the people of the world to try to do good deeds more than evil deeds, even if the surplus of good deeds eventually is not bigger than the size a human eyelash, so that their spirits may be sent to Paradise instead

[213] Still, according to the *Tārīx al-rusul wa'l-mulūk* by Ṭabarī, Hutōs is just the wife of Guštāsp (1881-1882: II.678) and there is no indication that she is Guštāsp's sister as well. Ṭabarī has recorded the name of "Hutōs" with the form of «خطوس» "Xuṭūs". De Goeje, the editor of *Tārīx al-rusul wa'l-mulūk* has identified this name as that same "Hutōs", and has explained this in a footnote to the edited text.

[214] It is an interesting point that according to an Iranian ancient story (a summary of which has been mentioned by Athenæus, a Greek writer of the second century A.D; quoted from Chares of Mitylene) Hutōs is Zarēr's wife and the latter is Guštāsp's brother. According to Athenæus, Guštāsp (whose name is Hystaspes in Athenæus' story), the king of Media, had a brother whose name was Zariadres. This Zariadres dreams about Hutōs (Odatis in Athenæus' history), the daughter of Omartes, the king of Marathi, and he falls in love with her. Likewise, Hutōs dreams about Zariadres, and she falls in love with him as well. After some adventures these two marry each other (Boyce 1955: 463-477).

of being captured in Limbo (lines 205-208). However, in the Parsig version, Surūš and Ādur-yazd tell Vīrāf that everyone whose good deeds are more than his evil deeds to the extent of three srōšōčarnām will be in Paradise (VI.5). Vahman interprets this word «سروش- چرنام» *srōš-čarnām* as the "name of a grade of sin and its punishment" (Vahman 1986: 274). This grade of sin must be a Zoroastrian standard that has been added to the text later, probably in Sassanid times or earlier.

- Ohrmazd declares to Vīrāf that he should advise the people that the right path in the world is just one and every other way is misleading (lines 920-922) in the Zoroastrian Persian version. In the Parsig version, Ohrmazd tells Vīrāf that he should convey to the Māzdēsnān, 'the Mazda-worshippers', that there is only one way of righteousnees, that is the way of the first teachers of the Mazdean religion (*pōryōtkēšīh*), and the other ways are all misleading. (CI.7). The differences between these two texts indicate clearly that the first account is in accordance with the principles of human morality that invites to the truth and prohibits wicked ways. But in the second account, Ohrmazd just talks to the Mazda-worshippers, which here means the Zoroastrians. Additionally, here the previous religion of the Iranians and all other religions as well are disproved of. Thus the Zoroastrian Persian version is an account which still represents a less religious theme, whereas the Parsig version is entirely and obviously a religious account of Zoroastrianism.
- According to the twenty-seventh episode in the Zoroastrian Persian version one of the captives in Hell complains that he has no relatives or friends and has no one to help him (lines 579-581). This person talks to nobody in particular. This complaint and entreaty has in the Parsig version been replaced by a Gathic prayer, which this captive prays to Ohrmazd (XVII.5). Ohrmazd as the addressee of the captive in the Parsig version is a Zoroastrian addition to the text. It is not acceptable in any way that a Zoroastrian scribe or translator might neglect the name of Ohrmazd in a religious document and therefore it is obvious that the name of Ohrmazd has never been found in the Zoroastrian Persian version.
- The names of Viraf's guides are mentioned as Surūš and Urdībihišt the Holy Immortal in the Zoroastrian Persian version, but they are Surūš and Ādur-yazd in the Parsig version. This has been discussed in the commentary. However, it seems probable that the differences between the names of these guides in the Parsig version and Zartušt Bahrām's narrative in verse, as well as the Zoroastrian Persian version, from which it has been versified (Haug-West 1872: xix) is attributed to both the epical tendency of the Zoroastrian Persian version and the religious trend of the Parsig version (Ġaybī 2001: 11).
- According to the Parsig version, one of the sins that causes the spirits to be kept either in the Star-Station or in the Moon-Station and not to be

led to Paradise is because they have not done the *xwēdōdah* (kin-marriage) (VII.4; VIII.3). A woman who has violated the kin-marriage is being punished in Hell (LXXXVI.3). On the other hand, it is stated that the spirits who have done kin-marriage are reposing in Paradise (XII.8). There are no words of kin-marriage in the Zoroastrian Persian version. Encouraging kin-marriage and regarding it as a sin to refuse this form of marriage are all standards of Zoroastrian culture especially in Sassanid times, which have been added to the Parsig version but are absent in the Zoroastrian Persian version.

- At the end of the Zoroastrian Persian version, Ohrmazd tells Vīrāf to return to the world to recount what he has witnessed to the people. In addition, he (Ohrmazd) recommends Vīrāf to tell the truth and no lies, for Ohrmazd watches him (lines 915-917). However, Vīrāf is not alerted to not telling the lies in the Parsig version (CI.3-4). The reason for this could be that he is described as a virtuous and a holy Zoroastrian there. This elimination of this warning from the Parsig version obviously points to this being a religious text.
- The name of Wīštāsp (Guštāsp) is mentioned three times in the Parsig version (XI.2; XI.9; CI.9).[215] But, there is no mention of this name in the Zoroastrian Persian version. Thus, the name of Wīštāsp, the most significant defender of Zarathustra, must have been added to the Parsig version later on in the process of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* being changed into a religious-Zoroastrian text.
- Vīrāf mentioned the name of Zardu[x]št (Zarathustra) six times in the Parsig version (I.1; III.6; XI.2; XI.9; XII.5; CI.9), but the name of Zartušt (Zarathustra) is only mentioned in the introduction of the Zoroastrian Persian version (lines: 10 (two times), 26, 35), and this name, in form of Zarātušt (Zarathustra), is repeated in the last episode (line: 925). Thus, the name of Zarathustra is neglected in four episodes of the Zoroastrian Persian version where it is found in the Parsig version. This is most fortunate for the argument. Neglecting the name of Zarathustra is never acceptable or reasonable, not even one time in a Zoroastrian oral account. Maybe it can be acceptable that the name of Zarathustra has been added somewhere in a Zoroastrian text either by mistake or perhaps due to strong faith. But, it is not reasonable at all that either the translator or the scribe copying or translating a religious-Zoroastrian account neglects the name of Zarathustra, the prophet, the greatest and the most important personality of Zoroastrianism. The non-existence of this name in these four places where the Zoroastrian Persian version in other details corresponds to the Parsig version indicates that the name has not existed there in the original mother-text of the Zoroastrian Persian version.

[215] In addition to this, the name of "Wīštāsp" has been mentioned as a relative adjective and with the form of *wīštāspān* 'of wīštāsp' (II.15).

- In the Parsig version, a number of Zoroastrian holy persons are mentioned. Firstly, after returning back from the Other World, Vīrāf greets the *dastūrān* (the authorities) and the *hērbedān* (teachers-priests) from Ohrmazd, Zarathustra, Surūš the righteous and Ādur-yazd in Paradise (III.6). Secondly, he tells about the excellent and illustrious places of Ohrmazd, the Holy Immortals, Zardu[x]št ī Spitāmān, Kay-Wištāsp, Jāmāsp and Isadwāstar, the son of Zarathustra (XI.2), and thirdly, he talks about the essence of Gayōmard, Zarathustra, Kay-Wištāsp, Frašōštar, Jāmāsp and the others in the same chapter (XI.9). Gignoux is correct when he states that the third list is a repetition of the second one, but without the names of Gayōmard and Frašōštar. They are not in the list of the second subsection of the eleventh chapter, so they have been added to the text by a compiler (Gignoux 1984: 164). Anyhow, not just this third list has been added to the text. In fact, none of these three lists containing the name of these great and important personalities of Zoroastrianism are found in the Zoroastrian Persian version.[216] The reason that there were no such lists in the first authentic and original version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is that it was not a Zoroastrian text. Thus, they who were involved in re-writing the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* have added the above-mentioned names to make it a more religious-Zoroastrian text.
- The punishments of Hell do not exceed certain pains and torments in the Parsig version (Mu'īn 1946: 43). However, the number of pains and torments are even less in the Zoroastrian Persian version. This indicates that ideas of various torments had not yet been formed in the time when the Zoroastrian Persian version was created. Thus, this same matter attests that the Zoroastrian Persian version is more ancient than the Parsig version.
- The descriptions of Paradise are not very elaborate in the Parsig version (ibid.), and the pictures of Paradise in the Zoroastrian Persian version are of a similar simple nature. But the portraits of happiness in the Zoroastrian Persian version are of a more pristine nature than in the Parsig version. This also attests to the antiquity of the Zoroastrian Persian version.
- 'The river of tears' is mentioned both in the Zoroastrian Persian version (lines: 552-574) and the Parsig version (XVI.1-7), as already discussed in the commentary. It is not impossible that "in this case, some topics have been taken from the ancient epics and have been admixed with new concepts" (Ġaybī 1994: 6). It seems as if this part may be one of the very authentic parts of the text. For, if this river existed in the Zoroastrian cosmogony, it should appear in other Zoroastrian works as well, which is not the case.

[216] Differences between the names have been considered in the commentary.

- Reciting the Gāhān is one of the most important good deeds in Zoroastrianism. According to the Zand version of Widēwdād (Codex TD[2] 1979: 611), not reciting the Gāhān is one of the signs of an *ahlomōγ* (heretic). The value and importance of reciting the Gāhān is mentioned five times in the Parsig version, once as a vital rite (II.17), twice as a mortal sin if not done, equivalent to rejecting kin-marriage and not praying (VII.4, VIII.3), and twice again as a great good deed, equal to kin-marriage, the reward of which is going to Paradise (IV.13, XII.5). However, in the Zoroastrian Persian version the importance of reciting the Gāhān is only mentioned once (lines 225-226), when the spirits have not been led to Paradise due to either not reciting the Gāhān and not doing *nauzūdī* and not praying.
- There is no mention of dancing in Paradise in the Parsig version. That is not very surprising. In spite of putting special emphasis on the necessity of happiness, there is neither a description of dancing nor even a word about the various kinds of dance in any of the Zoroastrian texts. However, in the Zoroastrian Persian version a kind of dancing known as *Dast-band* is mentioned twice as occurring in Paradise. In lines 421-422, a crowd of people who are performing the dance of *Dast-band* in Paradise are described. More important than that, in line 187, the Holy Immortals and one of the heavenly spirits are performing the dance of *Dast-band*. According to pictures on earthenware discovered in Sialk of Kāšān in Iran, and as well in Čašma-ʻAlī of the fourth millennium B.C., the dance of *Dast-band*/*Dasta-band* is a kind of very ancient dance in Iran.[217] This matter attests both to the antiquity of the Zoroastrian Persian version and to the passages related to the dance of *Dast-band*, which are absent in the Parsig version.
- According to the Zoroastrian Persian version, Vīrāf visits the places of the priests (the nineteenth episode), the warriors (the twentieth episode) and the farmers (the twenty-second episode) in Paradise. These are the very groups that constitute the Indo-Iranian social classes (Dumézil 1958: 7-8; Benveniste 1969: 279-292). However, the artisans have also been added to these three other classes in the Parsig version (XIV.10). This addition obviously indicates a newer structure of the Iranian social classes of the period when the Parsig version was formed. The artisan class did not exist in the society in which the Zoroastrian Persian version came into being. Benveniste also, in his studies about the social structure of Indo-Iranian society, accepted the presence of the artisans only with doubt. Therefore he put the name of this class in both the Iranian and the Indian societies in brackets (Ibid: 279). Thus, the Zoroastrian Persian ver-

[217] The dance of *Dast-Band* and the related earthenware illustrations have been discussed in the commentary.

sion is dependent on a pre-Zoroastrian Iranian society, and is more ancient than the Parsig version.

- The spirits of the teachers and scholars in Paradise are mentioned in the fifteenth chapter of the Parsig version (XV.8), which indicates a newer social structure. There is no mention of these two groups in the Zoroastrian Persian version.
- The Parsis (the Zoroastrians in India) believed in the entire message of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* until a century ago. Especially the parts related to women's affairs and the sins committed by women were in the center of their appreciation, so that they used to weep and mourn when listening to them (Haug-West 1872: Lv). The sins of the women are especially emphasized among all the sins mentioned in the Parsig version (Tavadia 1956: 120). Additionally, according to this version the number of women's sins is higher and their punishment more severe than those of men. The opposite is true for the Zoroastrian Persian version. The subject discussed is not only that women are guilty more than men. According to the Parsig version, women are not only guilty but also they are sin-makers,[218] while it is not so in the Zoroastrian Persian version.
- The number of rewards in the Zoroastrian Persian version is higher than in the Parsig version, and likewise the number of punishments in the Zoroastrian Persian version is lower than in the Parsig version.
- There are 39 extra chapters in the Parsig version, of which there are no traces in the Zoroastrian Persian version. Although a number of these are new re-written versions of already existing chapters, the subject of all these 39 chapters is Zoroastrian religious regulations and the punishment in hell for disobeying them. The absence of these chapters in the Zoroastrian Persian version plainly indicates that these chapters have been added later on to the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* by the Zoroastrians' religious-men.

The above-mentioned evidence indicates that during the transformation of the text of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, the matter was not just the replacement of the gods, the myths and the pre-Zoroastrian (Indo-Iranian) narratives with their Zoroastrian counterparts, which was also proposed at the beginning of the chapter. The replacement also included ideological changes of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* text. All these changes were done to achieve a religious goal. Thus, the primitive form of the composer's reflections on Vīrāf's journey was rubbed off and replaced by a religious-Zoroastrian concept. This had not yet been accomplished with the text on which the Zoroastrian Persian version was based. The ideological transformations of the text have moved even

[218] It can be claimed that there is no such anti-feminist point of view in all the rest of the Iranian pre-Islamic literature as in the Parsig version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. Furthermore, although in its present form the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* is among the Zoroastrian works, one cannot find such an anti-feminist view in the Zoroastrian religion.

further in the Parsig version than in the other versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*.

The differences between the Zoroastrian Persian version and the Parsig version indicate that, although the central part of both versions is the same, they are different from a philosophic viewpoint. This different point of view can be explained in brief as follows:

- In the Zoroastrian Persian version, the King is in the center of the supremacy (authority), and either he himself or his name has an omnipotent presence in the narration. This attests to the antiquity of the Zoroastrian Persian version in relation to the Parsig version. The Zoroastrian priests are also present in this narrative, but they don't play a distinguished part here. But in the Parsig version the Zoroastrian priests are powerful individuals, and their crucial role in society is demonstrated many times. Furthermore, the king is totally absent as a figure in the Parsig version, and there is not even any mention of a king.
- The happiness of the Other World is more than its pain in the Zoroastrian Persian version.
- Hell occupies less space in the Zoroastrian Persian version; it is described in less detail and depicted as a less dreadful place as well.
- There are many more deeds which are important in Zoroastrianism and have the character of religious rules in the Parsig version than in the Zoroastrian Persian version. For this reason, the Parsig version has the nature of a religious-Zoroastrian account, while the Zoroastrian Persian version is more of an epic-Zoroastrian account.
- A number of names of the great personalities in Zoroastrianism which have been mentioned in the Parsig version are absent in the Zoroastrian Persian version.
- The number of rewards is much more in the Zoroastrian Persian version, but the number of punishments is less than in the Parsig version.
- The women are not guiltier than the men in the Zoroastrian Persian version, thus they are not punished more than the men.

The above-mentioned topics indicate that surely some Parsig versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* have existed in Iran from one of which the Zoroastrian Persian version was translated. Those versions were obviously different from the present Parsig version and much closer to the original version of this account. It is safe to assume that this original version lacked some of the religious-Zoroastrian narrations and themes present in the current Parsig version. If the Zoroastrian Persian version was newer than the Parsig version, it should have contained all religious parameters and themes directly or

indirectly related to Zoroastrian regulations which are present in the Parsig version.[219]

[219] In this connection, it is surprising that there are no known traces in Iran of any manuscript in the original language, that is in Parsig, of a valuable and important work like the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, a book which is a venerated book of the Zoroastrians. The versions versified by Zartušt Bahrām and Nūšīrvān Kirmānī are the only manuscripts of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* found in Iran.

X. Appendix: Davānūs

The forty-second episode of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in the Zoroastrian Persian version is about a man called Davānūs whom Ardāy-Vīrāf visits in the Other World. Davānūs has been called a lazy man, who has not done any good in his lifetime due to his laziness. For this reason, the whole of his body except one foot is in Hell and the reptiles (*xrafstarān*) are eating his body. The reason for this is that once in his lifetime, it so happened that Davānūs with that foot pushed some grass towards a sheep, which was fastened far from the grass. Due to this single good deed, that same foot is out of Hell and is not tormented by the *xrafstarān*. This story is also mentioned in chapter 32 of the Parsig version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*.

A slightly different version of the story of Davānūs is recorded in a few other works besides the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*.

The Davānūs account is, with certain differences, also told in a quote from the *Sipand Nask*, which is one of the lost Nasks of *Avesta*, in the *Šāyest Nē-Šāyest* (*ŠnŠ* 1969: XII.29).[220] The essential difference in the *Sipand Nask* is that instead of Ardāy-Vīrāf, it is Zarathustra who visits Davānūs in the Other World. The *Sipand Nask* version, meanwhile, represents a more complete form of the narration, because there Davānūs' sovereignty and his rule over thirty-three countries is mentioned, and also that he had never done a good deed.

The same quotation from the *Sipand Nask* in the *Šāyest Nē-Šāyest*, is found in the *Ṣaddar Naṯr* as well, but there is a difference there worth mentioning. There is no mention of the name of Davānūs in the *Ṣaddar Naṯr*, but only an account of a king who is in Hell. However, the *Ṣaddar Naṯr* version is more complete than the *Šāyest Nē-Šāyest* version. According to the *Ṣaddar Naṯr*, Davānūs ruled for many years. He committed much cruelty, injustice and tyranny. But one day while hunting he arrived in a place where he saw a sheep which was tied up (*ṢDN* 1909: IV.3-11).[221]

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[220] Katāyūn Mazdāpūr, while presenting another rendering of this name in a different manuscript of the *Šāyest Nē-Šāyest*, holds that probably the name of «دوانوس» *Dawānūs* can be read «یونس» *Yūnis* as well (Mazdāpūr 1990: 172-173). The name *Davānūs* in Zoroastrian Persian, is found in the form of *Yūnis* in manuscripts NPMO and as «دنس» in manuscripts N²L, which can have many different phonetic forms, such as *Danis* / *Danus* / *Dunus* / *Dinus* / *Dunis*.

[221] There are more minor differences: according to the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Zoroastrian Persian and the *Sipand Nask* versions, one of the feet of *Davānūs* is standing out of Hell, but according to the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Parsig and the *Ṣaddar Naṯr*, it is specified that it is his right foot which is standing out of Hell; *Davānūs* throws the grass towards a sheep according

In order to get a full picture of Davānūs' story we need to combine the two versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* and the *Ṣaddar Naṯr* on Davānūs. The result of this combination is as follows:

"And then we passed beyond that place and arrived at another place. I saw the soul of a man whose whole body was in hell except for one foot which was outside. And the vermin were not inflicting bites on that one foot. I asked Surūš-ašū: 'Whose soul is this?' Surūš-ašū said: 'This is the soul of a man whose name was Davānūs. [He had been a king and he had ruled over thirty three countries[222] and he had ruled for many years (*ṢDN* 1909: IV.5).] And he was so lazy that he had never done a good deed. [But he had done much cruelty, injustice and tyranny. It so happened that one day, he was going hunting. He arrived in a place, where he saw that a sheep was tied up. There was some grass far away, and that sheep was hungry. And it was trying to eat the grass, but did not gain access to that grass. This same king had thrown the grass near to the sheep with his foot[223] (*ṢDN* 1909: IV.6-10).] Now, as a reward for that, his one foot is outside of hell, and all the rest of his body is in hell and the vermin are eating [it]'" (*Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*: 42nd episode).

Apart from these above-mentioned works, the name of Davānūs is also mentioned in two other places, namely in *Yasna* 31, verse 10 (*Yasna* XXXI 1878: 351) and in the ninth book of *Dēnkard* (*DkM* 1911: II.833).

The true identity of Davānūs has been unknown from the time when Pope's translation of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* was published (1816) to this day, whether in the translation of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* or in research done about this work and about both *Yasna* 31 and *Dēnkard*. It has not been decided yet what the correct form of the name is, neither to what language or culture it originally belongs. Moreover, no one has discovered what personality, mythical or historical, Davānūs was.

It can be said in general that the researchers have had a wide range of opinions regarding this name, either in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* or in other texts: some have neglected it and some have supposed that it is a name and tried to find out its origin, furthermore, some have got it, not as a name but as a word or a form of a verb and have translated it thus.

Here are some examples of research about this name that could be taken generally as a mirror of all researchers' work on this topic.

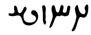
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to the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in Zoroastrian Persian, the *Sipand Nask* and the *Ṣaddar Naṯr* versions, but according to the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in the Parsig version, he throws the grass towards a ploughing ox. This change may have occurred due to the sacred position of the ox in Zoroastrianism.

222 The word šahr "city", that means both "city" and "country" in Parsig and Zoroastrian Persian.

223 The last sentence can also be found in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, but with a different structure.

Pope (1816: 71-73), has omitted the name of Davānūs in his translation of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*.

Jamaspji Asa, who was the first person to edit the Parsig version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, has noted that the name Davānōs is mentioned in manuscripts H6 and K20 in the form of , and in the form of  in manuscript H9, which has later been changed into the form of . He adds that, since the letter  also reads as *ā*, *kh* [*x*], *h*, and the letter  also reads as *l*, *r*, *ō*, *ū*, *v*, *n*, it follows theoretically that the name can be read in 6x3x6x6 forms, that is, in totally 648 different forms (Jamaspji Asa 1872: 63). He also supposes that possibly Davānūs is a Greek name (ibid.: 175).

Haug, who refers to a note by Jamaspji Asa about 'laziness', also points to the Greek origin of the name of Davānōs or Danāvōs in his translation from the Parsig version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* into English, and he has written its Greek form as (Δαναός = Danaos). After that, we find his transcription and English translation of the *Sipand Nask* recitation on Davānūs (ibid.).

Later, in a glossary of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, West and Haug introduce Davānūs as the governor of thirty-three countries and add that the reading of the name is uncertain (West and Haug 1874: II.237).

Barthélemy, in his French translation of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* (1887: 55, 167, 174), has transcribed this name as Davāns. He has also mentioned some similar narrations of the story to that found in the Parsig version of the *Sipand Nask*, *Yasna* 31, verse 10, the *Sd Bd*. (which must be understood as *Ṣaddar Bundahiš*)[224] and the fourth episode of the *Ṣaddar Naṯr*. He has also given a translation of the 29th section of the 12th chapter of the *Sipand Nask* (*Šāyest Nē-Šāyest*) in French after West's translation.

Barthélemy has also pointed to the resemblances between the Davānūs story and the theme of the 60th chapter of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* in the Parsig version. In this chapter, Ardāy-Vīrāf sees a man in Hell who is placed in a boiler pot to cook, but his right foot is out of the boiler pot. Srōš and Ādur-yazd explain to Vīrāf that this is because this man has killed a great number of *xrafstarān* (the reptiles) by the means of his right foot in the world. Barthélemy has compared the man's persecution in the boiling pot to a part of *Proserpine dans les Grenouilles* [Proserpine in Frogs/The Frogs] by Aristophanes (about 446-386 B.C.), and as well to the *Son d'Enfer* [Song of Hell] by Raoul de Houdan, the French author of 12th century[225] (Barthélemy 1887: 167, 174).

Concerning this name, Dastur Kaikhusru Jamaspji Jamasp Asa in a new edition of the Parsig version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* (1902: 37) transcribes it as Davāns, referring to the *Yasna* 31, verse 10, and translates it as a "a

[224] If *Sd Bd*. is indeed *Ṣaddar Bundahiš,* this information is not correct since here is no mention of Davānūs in this work.
[225] Barthélemy has written the 13th century.

cheat; a hypocrite". Then, he points to the two versions of the *Sipand Nask* and the *Ṣaddar Naṯr* and translates a concise story of this 'Davāns' told in the *Ṣaddar Naṯr* into English. He believes that "the story of the lazy Davāns" told in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, is directly taken from the *Sipand Nask*" (ibid: iii).

In Maddox translation of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, (1904: 39-40), like in that of Pope, this name is omitted.

Vahman has the name of Dawānus as "deceitful" in the glossary that he has provided for the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* (1977:19), and to explain this, he has written that Dawānus was the name of a tyrant and wicked governor (ibid: 71). Surely, the *Ṣaddar Naṯr* has been his source.

In his translation of this work into Persian, Bahār states that Davānūs is similar to a name of Greek origin; however there is no certain knowledge of such a personality (Bahār 1983: 286, re-print 1996: 332).

Gignoux, in his translation into French (1984: 181), has written this name as *Davāns and has mentioned its Avestan form davas- and writes that this form of *dw'nws* can be a word of the Greek origin, plus -os. The readings Davāns or Davānos are suggested by Gignoux, but he also adds that this reading is still uncertain. He further notes that the name may have a historical background and has symbolized a lazy person.

Vahman, in his English translation of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* (1986: 263), writes that this is an unidentified name, which according to the legends, refers to a tyrant ruler who neglected his religious duties.

'Afīfī, in translating the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* into Persian (1993: 46),[226] has written this name as «دوانوس» and has transcribed it Dawānus (ibid: 193) but there is no explanation of it.

Besides in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, the *Sipand Nask* (*Šāyest Nē-Šāyest*) and the *Ṣaddar Naṯr*, the name Davānūs is mentioned both in *Avesta*: *Yasna* 31, and *Dēnkard* as well.

In Haug's translation (1878:351), which is the Zand (= Parsig) version of *Yasna* 31, he translates the name as "hypocrite". Then, in an explanatory footnote, he writes the Avestan form of the name as davās. He also indicates that the name has been mentioned in the *Sipand Nask* and the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, and transcribes it as Davānōs, the form of the name in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*.

In his translation from the *Sipand Nask* (1880: 350), West transcribes the name as Davāns and in a footnote he explains that this name is the same davās of Avestan which could be translated as "hypocrite".

Peshotan Sanjana, in his translation of *Dēnkard* (1922: XVII. 95),[227] has translated this name two times, at first to *dūnmīnishnīh* "hypocrisy" and the

[226] The first publication of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, translated by Rahīm 'Afīfī, took place in 1963. Unfortunately, I have not had access to it.
[227] See also *DkM* 1911: II.833.

second time to *dāvānsīhā-ich* “hypocritically”. He comments about the translation of this word that “[t]he *dāvānsīhāch* of the text evidently represents the *davãschnia* of the *Avesta* Yas. XXXI, 10c; and the Pazand *dāvāṇsihāch* in its Pahlavi” (ibid: 72, f.5).

Humbach, in his translation from *Yasna* 31 into the German (1959: I.91), has read the name *davąscinā* and seems to translate it as “gute Erinnerung”.

Kotwal has transcribed the name Dawāns in his translation (1969: 37) from the *Sipand Nask* in (the *Šāyest Nē-Šāyest*).

Insler has read the name *davąscinā* in his translation of *Yasna* 31 (1975: 39, 185), and translated it as “friendship”.

While translating *Yasna* 31 (1988: I.115; III.67), Kellens and Pirart have read the name *dauuąscinā* and avoided translating it.

Mazdāpūr, while translating the *Sipand Nask* (1990: 162), has transcribed the name as Dawānūs.

Humbach in his translation into English (1991: I.128, II.67), has supposed that the name is a derived form of *dauuąs*, which means “shouting”, and has read the word *dauuąscinā* in the text and translated it to “shout”. However, in spite of all that, the reference of the name Davānūs is still unknown.

The keys to a correct understanding of the name Davānūs are to be deduced from his life story in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, the *Sipand Nask* and the *Ṣaddar Naṯr*, and one could profit from them to explore this personality. They are as follows:

- The name of Davānūs and his sovereignty
- The number of the countries dominated by Davānūs
- Davānūs’ tyranny
- The laziness of Davānūs and his not doing any good deed
- Davānūs in Hell
- Doing a single good deed

The name of Davānūs and his sovereignty

Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa (1872: 63) states that the name of Davānūs can be read in 648 forms in the Parsig. Following him, Gignoux (1984: 181) has also pointed to the different orthographies of this word in Parsig. Thus, the name of Davānūs can be taken as a misspelled form of a similar name.

Fortunately, in one of the books written about the history of Iran, though only once, the name of «داونوس» Dāvnūs is mentioned. Abū al-Ḥasan Mas‘ūdī (dead 346 A.H / 957 A.D.) in his book مروج الذهب و معادن الجوهر Murūj al-żahab va ma‘ādin al-jawhar, writes in a chapter related to the kings of Babylon, Nabataeans and so forth (known as Chaldeans): « ثم ملک بعده «معوسا» سنه، و قیل: آقل من ذلک، ثم ملک بعده «داونوس» إحدی و ثلاثین سنه، و قیل أکثر من ذلک، ثم ملک بعده «کسرجوس» عشرین سنه» “Then a king after him, Ma‘ūsā, [ruled] for one year, and it has been said that [he ruled] even less. After him,

one year, and it has been said that [he ruled] even less. After him, Dāvnūs [ruled] for thirty-one years, and it has been said that [he ruled] even more. After him, Kasrjūs [ruled] for twenty years."(Mas'ūdī 1964: 1.217).

Here, it appears that the name Dāvnūs is the same name Davānūs where the place of the two letters «ا» (alif) and «و» (vāv) have changed places. This is neither surprising nor unusual in manuscripts in Arabic script.

In another book about Iran's history composed earlier than Mas'ūdī's work, we find the correct form of the name for the king, in a chapter with a similar account of kings. Aḥmad ibn-i abī-Ya'qūb, well-known as Ya'qūbī (dead 292 A.H/904 A.D), has written in his book Ta'rix al-Ya'qūbī in a chapter about the kings of Babylon[228]: « و ملک «معوسا» سبعة اشهر. و ملک «داريوش» احدى و ثلاثين سنه. و ملک «کسرحوش» عشرين سنه» "And king Ma'ūsā [ruled] seven months, and king Dāryūš [ruled] thirty–one years, and king Kasrḥūš [ruled] twenty years" (Ya'qūbī 1964: 1.69).

Thus, the name of Dāryūš is recorded as Davānūs with several erroneous changes in the word. It occurred for the first time in Parsig in the form of Dawānūs and in the Zoroastrian Persian texts in the form of Davānūs, and for the second time in the form of Dāwnūs in the *Murūj al-żahab va ma'ādin al-jawhar*. However the form of Dāwnūs is much closer to Dāryūš. The letter «ر» has changed to the letter «و», the letter «يـ» has changed to the letter «نـ», which means that the two dots have changed into one and moved to a position above the letter, and the dots of the letter «ش» have been omitted and this letter has been like «س». This is not so improbable, with regard to several points: firstly, the name Dāryūš was never common in Iran in this form but in the form of Dārā. Moreover, it is possible that Mas'ūdī quoted the name of Dāwnūs from Greek works or even from works that had mentioned this name according to its Greek form where it was written Dareios. In this case, the difference between Dāwnūs and Dareios is even less than the difference between Davānūs and Dāryūš mentioned above, because the last letter of these two names is the same in this case. Thus, Dāwnūs is a little altered in relation to the Greek form Dareios. This view is supported by the fact that Mas'ūdī records «کسرجوس» (Kasrjūs) and Ya'qūbī «کسرحوش» (Kasrḥūš) as the name of the successor of Dāwnūs/Dāryūš. Both of these are the obviously misread forms of Xerxes, the Greek name for Xšayāršā. The length of the rule of these kings, except that of Dāryūš, is the same as mentioned in historic sources: Ma'ūsā / Bardiya- / Smerdis [Gaumāta]: seven months, Kasrjūs / Kasrḥūš / Xšayāršā: twenty years (Wiesehöfer 1996: 313).

In this context it is necessary to mention that anyone who has some knowledge about the Persian/Arabic characters, and is aware of the mistakes

228 It is worth mentioning in this history, that Davānūs/Dārīūš and the other Achaemenian's king ruling over Babylon and considering among the dynasties of Babylonian kings. However, this matter is not directly related to this discussion.

that may happen in manuscripts, especially while re-writing unknown names, will not find the change of the name Dāryūš to Dāwnūs strange at all.

Another work that seems to mention Davānūs is the love poem Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā composed by ‘Unṣurī (c.970-c.1040 AD).[229] There the name occurs in the form of Vadānūš[230], and he is a man who has sold ‘Adhrā, the main female character of the story (Hägg-Utas 2003: 175). However, the compiler of *Burhān-ī Qāti‘* mentions Davānūš, Danvāš and Dayānūš as variants of this name (Tabrīzī 1983: 2.820). Another verse ascribed to this poem mentions a robber by name of Dayānūš (ibid.) One of these forms, namely Davānūš, seems to be identical with the Parsig form Davānūs, the difference being found just in the last letter «ش» “š”. Probably, the names Vadānūš/ Davānūs also refer to Dāryūš, used in that form by ‘Unṣurī, since the original name was forgotten among the Iranians, and then, for the same reason, the scribes introduced other variants in the manuscripts. This conclusion is supported by the fact that, in the same poem of Vāmiq and ‘Adhrā, we find that ‘Unṣurī has used the name of Daryūš in the form Dārā, which is the form of Daryūš that is later well-known among the Iranians (Hägg-Utas 2003: 176, 242, 245).

It is not surprising that Dawānūs has been written for Dāryūš or Darius in the Parsig version in view of Hoshangji Jamaspji Asa’s remark (1872: 63) that the name Dawānūs can be read in 648 ways in Parsig. Haug has also recorded this name in the two forms Davānōs and Danāvōs in his translation of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* (Parsig version) into English. This means that this name has been recorded at least in two different forms in the Parsig version.

The number of countries dominated by Davānūs

The number of countries ruled by Davānūs/Dāryūš are thirty-three according to the *Sipand Nask* and the *Ṣaddar Naṯr*. It must be said that is not easy to determine the exact number of the countries ruled by Dāryūš. The number of the countries varies between 31 in the Xerxes inscription (XPh), 29 in the inscription on the king’s tomb at Naqš-i Rustam (DNa), 27 in one of the Susa inscriptions (DSe), 24 in one of the four inscriptions placed on the south façade of the Persepolis terrace (DPe), and 23 in the Behistun inscription (DB) and one of the versions of the Susa foundation charter (DSaa) (Briant 2002: 172-173).[231]

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[229] I give my best thanks to professor Bo Utas for referring me to this source.

[230] This is very probable that was a form of the name was been written mistakenly by the scrivener. Maybe the scrivener has recorded the letter «و» “v” befor «د» “d”; so Davānūš has changed to Vadānūš.

[231] The name of the subject countries of Darius are mentioned in five columns in the French text of Briant’s book, which displays the name of these countries in five inscriptions. But, the

On the other hand, according to the Naqš-i Rustam inscription, Dāryūš himself has declared: "If now thou shalt think that 'How many are the countries which King Darius held?' look at the sculptures [of those], who bear the throne" (ibid: 178).

On the basis of this statement, the number of representatives of countries in the inscriptions on the king's tomb at Naqš-i Rustam and Persepolis, who are found as throne bearers, numbers 30 all in all. However, the number of these representatives is 28 above the southern gate of the Hall of One Hundred Columns in Persepolis.

Regarding the discrepancy between the number of subject countries and peoples of Dāryūš, an important point must be taken into consideration, namely: "it must thus be recognized that neither the lists nor the representations constitute administrative catalogues yielding a realistic image of the imperial realm. It was not administrative districts that the Great Kings wanted to represent. The word used in the inscriptions is *dahyu-* "people".[232] The Kings did not intend to give a list that was either complete or exact. The inscribed lists are nothing but a selection of subject countries" (ibid: 177).

There is no mention of the number of the countries dominated by Davānūs/ Dāryūš, neither in Ya'qūbī's nor in Mas'ūdī's narrations. However, both of them have mentioned the years of his reign as 31 years, a point of view that is not accurately compatible with the historic evidences. Dāryūš ruled for 36 years, from the year 522 to 486 B.C. (Wiesehöfer 1996: 313). Ya'qūbī (1964: 1.69) and Mas'ūdī (1964: 1.217) records the years of Dāryūš's reign as 31, although Mas'ūdī states that "it has been said that [he ruled] even more" (Mas'ūdī 1964: 1.217). Is it possible that one of the historians who, according to Mas'ūdī, holds that the years of Dāryūš's reign were more than 31, is referring to the 36 years that he actually ruled?

Unfortunately, in none of the historical works written after Islam on the subject of Iran's ancient history, we find exact records of the numbers of years that the kings of Iran ruled in pre-Islamic periods. In this connection, Abū-ma'šar Balkhī (dead 886 A.D.) says, "The records of the reign of the kings of Iran are very confusing and incorrect, even if there was a continuation from the establishment to the decline of their rule"[233] (Abū-ma'šar Balkhī → Iṣfahānī 1961: 14). He also adds that Iranians are in disagreement about the length of each king's rule, as well. For example, some believe that Kay-Qubād ruled for 120 years, whereas some are of the opinion that his rule was even less than 10 years (ibid: 15).

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name of the mentioned countries are recorded in six columns in the English translation of this work. The French text has missed the column that displays the Xerxes' inscription.

232 The word *dahyu-* is translated in French with "people" (1996: 189) by Briant, and with "people" (2002: 177) by its English translator. However, Kent has translated *dahyu-* with "land, province and district" (Kent 1953: 190).

233 The phrase "the decline of their rule" means the end of Sasanians times and the beginning of the Islamic period in Iran.

This obscurity when it comes to the length of the rule of the Iranian Kings in Iranian historical works goes back to the early centuries of Islamic times in Iran. Ḥamza Iṣfahānī (dead 961 A.D.) came across this problem while composing his history book. He writes that "the record of the sovereignty of the Kings of Iran, on the whole, is an incorrect and confused matter, because during the first 150 years [after the Arab attack], while translating from a language into another, it changed from a simple numbering into a code character"[234] (Iṣfahānī 1961: 13-14). Abū-ma'šar Balkhī also wrote that "most of the years in the history are confused and incorrect, because when the historic events of a nation that has lived for many years are either narrated from one book to another or translated into another language, some mistakes, both additions and deductions, normally occur (ibid: 14).

Finally, it is important to remember that the number 33 is a holy and symbolic number in Zoroastrian literature. The numbers of the gods are 33 according to the *Yasna* (Hāt I.1-23); Yōšt asks 33 questions from axt ī jādūg, according to the *Mādayān ī Yōšt ī Friyān* (Haug-West 1872: 241-266); there are 33 roads to Paradise in the *Ṣaddar Naṯr* (1909: LXXIX.6-9); and Anūšīrvān Kirmānī, in his poem of the *Kitāb-i vaṣf-i amšāspandān*, has also described 33 Holy Immortals (Unvālā 1922: II.164-192). Therefore, when the Davānūs story was re-written or copied, the number of the countries dominated by Davānūs/Dāryūš changed from 23, 24, 27, 29 or 31, to 33.

Davānūs' tyranny

Cambyses (Old Persian: Kabūjiya; Greek: Kambyses), the second king of the Achaemenian dynasty, appointed a Magian called Patizeithes[235] to take care of his house in his absence while he travelled to Egypt. Cambyses had a brother called Smerdis (Old Persian: Bardiya-, Greek Smerdis)[236] who was put to death by Cambyses, because he was anxious that this brother may gain royal power.[237] However, no one was aware of this assassination. Cambyses journey to Egypt and his absence in Iran lasted for a long time. Patizeithes had a brother who was also a Magian and looked very much like Smerdis, and accidentally bore the same name as Smerdis, too. Thus Patizeithes brought his brother and placed him on the royal throne in March of the year

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234 «و تواریخهم کلها مدخولة غیرصحیحة، لأنها نقلت بعد مایة و خمسین سنة من لسان الی لسان، و من خط متشابه رقوم الاعداد الی خط متشابه رقوم العقود»

235 There is no indication to any Patizeithes in the Behistun inscription. Diakonov holds that "a good number of proofs indicate that Patizeithes is a Persian title not a name" (Diakonov 1978: 613).

236 This name is mentioned in the Behistun inscription (DB and DBb) as Gaumāta- (Kent 1953: 182), in Herodotus' narration (1963: Book III.29) as Smerdis and in Ctésias' narration (1947: 10) as Sphendadatès.

237 The view in different sources vary regarding the time, the place and the manner of how Smerdis, the brother of Cambyses, was murdered.

522 B.C. and announced that he was the same Smerdis, Cambyses' brother. Hearing this, Cambyses departed for Susa (Šūš) to regain his sovereignty, but he died on the way. When he was dying, he begged the great ones of Persia not to allow the sovereignty to fall into Median hands again (Herodotus 1963: Book III.61-65).

Seven months after the reign of Smerdis, Darius (Old Persian: Dārayavauš, Greek: Dareios), the son of Hystaspes (Old Persian: Vištāspa-, Greek: Hystaspes) and the governor of Pārs/Persis, who had come to Susa accompanied by his six comrades, attacked the royal palace in September 29 of the year 522 B.C. They killed Patizeithes and his brother, and they cut off their heads. Then, five persons of them ran out of the palace to let the people know that this Smerdis was a false one. Outside the palace they killed every Magian that came in their way. The Persians, as well, resolved to follow Darius and his comrades' example. They slew all the Magians they could find, and if nightfall had not stopped them, they would not have left one Magian alive (ibid: III.70-79). Afterwards, they celebrated a great festival on the memorial day of this event every year, which they called the 'Massacre of the Magians' (μαγοφόνια = magofonia). This was the greatest state festival of the Persians, and during this day no Magians dared to come out of their houses (ibid: III.79).

Smerdis ruled for seven months, and during this time he accomplished many great things. Among them, he proclaimed all his subjects free from service in arms and from tribute for three years. After his death all the inhabitants of Asia except the Persians mourned him[238] (ibid: III.67).[239]

In view of the massacre of the Magians which was ordered by Darius/Davānūs's order and under his supervision, it can be supposed that from a Magian viewpoint such a king "has never done a good deed, but has also committed much tyranny, injustice and cruelty" (*ṢDN* 1909: IV.6).

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238 Four narrations of the Smerdis event are available to us; the Behistun inscription (DB, DBb), and the accounts of Herodotus (1963: Book III.61-79), Ctésias (1947: *La Perse*.10-13) and Iustinus (1935: I.10), the latter founded on an account by G. Pompeius Trogus (1st century BC), in its turn founded on an account by Dinon (c. 360-340 BC). Here only Herodotus' narration has been used because it is more detailed than the others. For a comparison of these four versions, the reader is referred to *Tārīx-i mād* (*The History of the Medians*) by Diakonov (1978: 391-400) and to *From Cyrus to Alexander, A History of the Persian Empire* by Briant (2002: 97-114).

239 In consideration of the Herodotus report and the Behistun inscription, on the subject of the situation of some people of the society who were the followers of Smerdis and the sections who were against him, Diakonov writes that: "It should not be exaggerated and supposed that Gaumāta- had been a revolutionary and that he fought for the freedom of the Medians […] he called himself a Persian and a Achaemenian and therefore he did not intend to bring back the previous independence to the Medians […] he had taken his authority through a courtly coup-d'état and was destroyed through another coup-d'état" (Diakonov 1978: 397, 399).

The laziness of Davānūs and his not doing any good deed

In the heading of the story about Davānūs in the Zoroastrian Persian version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, Davānūs is characterized by an adjective *ažgahan*, which means "lazy". In the Parsig version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, Davānūs is also called *Davānūs ī ajgahān* "the lazy Davānūs". With regard to the theme of this episode it seems that the laziness of Davānūs does not mean indolence but to be lazy in doing good deeds, according to both the Zoroastrian Persian and Parsig versions. There is no word of the laziness of Davānūs in the *Sipand Nask* and the *Ṣaddar Naṯr* versions, where he is instead characterized as cruel and unjust. It appears that the word «اژگهن» *ažgahan* and «کاهلی» *kāhilī* "laziness", both in the heading and in the text body of the Zoroastrian Persian version, and the word *ajgahān* in the Parsig version of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* replace the epithet of unjust and cruel in these two texts. It means that the authors of the Parsig and Zoroastrian Persian versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* have been led to renounce "the injustice and the tyranny" of the king and instead of that they have characterized the king as a lazy person. This change could have taken place already at a time when the dynasty of Davānūs/Darius was still ruling, and out of fear the authors of these texts may well have changed the cruelty of Davānūs into laziness as the reason why he did not do any good deeds. This appears plausible considering the fact that there is no indication of reasons for the laziness the Davānūs, nor for the manner of his laziness in any of these two versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*.

Davānūs in Hell

Vīrāf, in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*, and Zarathustra, in the *Sipand Nask* and the *Ṣaddar Naṯr*, visit Davānūs in Hell. First of all, it can be said that this indicates that the Davānūs story has been famous to such an extent that it has utilized in different texts. Also, the fact that he is in Hell is clear evidence of his being guilty, or, in other words, that he did not do any good deed. Thus, naturally, everyone who travels to the Other World will see Davānūs in his special situation, with most of his body in Hell while one foot is outside Hell.

Doing a single good deed

The only point that is unclear in Davānūs' story is his single good deed: throwing a bundle of grass in front of a hungry sheep/cow. Is this act a general symbol of a good deed? Is it a symbol for a good deed done by a king

who has never elsewhere done any virtuous deed? Unfortunately, there are no clues in the narrations to the answer to these questions. The original single good deed has been forgotten on account of narrating the story symbolically.

Conclusion

Smerdis is the most important and the most well-known personality among the antagonists and rivals who were punished by Darius; he was dethroned and killed. The Magians are also the most significant suppressed group in Darius' period. Thus, the Magians are the group of people in Iranian territories, who would have a most reason to describe Darius/Davānūs as a cruel, unjust and tyrannical person.

The Magians performed all religious ceremonies as priests (men of religion) in ancient Iran. They still retained their influence after Zoroastrianism became widespread. Messina writes that the Magi themselves were the only true heirs of Zoroaster who faithfully transmitted his doctrines (Messina → Zaehner 1961: 161). Besides, they made themselves indispensible at all kinds of religious ceremonies, whether Zoroastrian or otherwise (ibid: 162-163). The influence of the Magi was so widespread that they enjoyed a monopoly of religious affairs not only in their native Media but also in Persis and the whole western half of the Achaemenian Empire (ibid: 161). In addition to this, the Magi were considered to be philosophers, and they were the teachers of the Achaemenian kings (ibid: 164). However, they belonged to the Median tribes and they could not uphold their former position after the Medians were defeated by the Achaemenians.

By piecing together the story of Davānūs with the account of Darius and Smerdis as well as that of the massacre of the Magians, we find that the most logical conclusion, which, of course, contains a certain amount of speculation, is the one presented below. Unfortunately a big part of this jig-saw puzzle is still missing. Therefore, the picture formed by these pieces necessarily differs from the picture that would emerge if we had more details.

In their precarious situation the Magians tried to refrain from recalling the memories of Smerdis murder and after that the massacre of the Magians, in order to protect their social position and safeguard their own and their people's interests. Since the Achaemenians ruled over the country more than 150 years after Darius (until the death of Darius III in 330 B.C.), it was not possible to retell this story in public for fear of the government officials. It would not even be possible to retell the incident in family gatherings or circles of friends without omitting some parts of the story which may be dangerous. The result of this would naturally be that details, names and essential elements of the story were forgotten and that some details lost their original meaning. On the other hand, it is possible that some parts of the incident

were retold symbolically, because both the narrator and the audiences knew the symbols. Possibly, the good deed in Davānūs' story is among the symbols whose origin has been forgotten. However, there were traces in the memories of the Magians that became paler during the times, a trace which was recorded finally in the Davānūs story.

The story of Davānūs must have been created after the death of Darius. Furthermore, it seems that the incoherent versions we have at our disposal are from a time when there was no remembrance of Darius, Smerdis and his brother, and of the murder of the Magians.

Possibly, we can never find out clearly how comprehensive the Davānūs story was from the beginning. Anyhow, it is likely that it was more voluminous that what is left to us. The most important evidence to support this view is the three versions that supply three different forms of the story. These are differences that may have come about due to the fear of punishment. Fear may have caused the elimination of the name Davānūs in the *Ṣaddar Naṯr* version and also the elimination of any mention of Davānūs' sovereignty in the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*. This same vigilance may have caused the removal of any reference to the cruelty, injustice and the tyranny of Davānūs in the *Sipand Nask* version.[240] In other words, the self-censorship, in ways that are familiar in its various forms in our time, closed the road to the Davānūs / Darius story being written down in a complete form in the old world.

The *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* narration, in which there is no mentioning of Davānūs' sovereignty and where only his laziness is mentioned, and the narrative of the *Ṣaddar Naṯr*, where the name of Davānūs is not mentioned, show to what extent this story has changed. It is thus impossible to get an image of the origin of this historical event by just looking at one account of the story.

It is not important when the Davānūs story has been incorporated into the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* or in which work it was originally found. What is important is that narrators and scribes have included this text and that they have regarded religious works as the most appropriate place for this text to be preserved. One of these works is *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma*.

Finally, perhaps the most important point in Davānūs story is that the image of Davānūs/Darius and the account of his life have been placed not in this world but in the Other World. Exposing Davānūs in the Other World was perhaps a way to conceal the true identity of the story of Davānūs/Darius, at least at first impression, and in this way diminish the danger for the rewriters, scribes, the holders of the manuscripts and all those who took part in transmitting the story.

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240 Thus, the claim by Kaikhusru Jamaspji Jamasp Asa that the Davānūs story of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* has been directly cited from the *Sipand Nask* (K. Jamaspji Asa 1902: iii) cannot be accepted. If that was the case, the Davānūs story in the different versions of the *Ardāy-Vīrāf Nāma* should also have contained the important points of *Sipand Nask,* the sovereignty of Davānūs and his ruling over thirty-three countries.

Can it indeed not be considered as a great success for those who guarded and transmitted the Davānūs/Darius story that the true identity of this person has now been rediscovered?

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Index of old words, terms and verbs of the text[*]

[*] Each word has a number which indicates the line number of its first occurrence in the edited text.

[**] The verbs are not written in the index as they are used in the text body, but in their infinitive forms. For example «نه‌یشتند» *na-yaštand* is recorded as -» «یشتن *yaštan*.

[***] Some words in this index have different forms that belong to various manuscripts, which are explained in footnotes. For example, the word «چینوَد» *čīnvad* is written as «چینوَر» *čīnvar* and «چِنوَد» *činvad* as well.

اختیارِ کتابخانه‌ی موزه‌ی بریتانیا، در شهر لندن در انگلستان، تصحیح شده است.

متنِ تصحیح‌شده، همراه با فصل‌های دیگرِ این رساله، که با راهنمایی و یاری استادانم بانو کارینا جهانی و جناب بو اوتاس نوشته شده، منتشر خواهد شد. امّید که به کارِ دیگران بیاید.

اوپسالا- داریوش کارگر، فرزند یحیی و خدیجه]

تمامت الکتاب [اردای]ویراف‌نامه، از تاریخ دوّم مردادماه قدیم، سنه ۸۹۶.[1135]

* * *

[فرجامید به فرخندگی و پیروزی، تصحیحِ روایتِ اردای‌ویراف‌نامه‌ی منثورِ فارسی زردشتی، دور از سرزمین مادری و خانه‌ی پدری، در روز پنج‌شنبه، اورمزدروز از ماه فروردین، نوروز و آغازِ بهارِ سال یکهزار و سیصد و هفتاد و هفت یزدگردی، برابرِ هزار و سیصد و هشتاد و هفت خورشیدی و بیستم ماه مارس دوهزار و هشت میلادی، در شهر اوپسالا در سوئد.

این متن، بر پایه‌ی دست‌نوشته‌ی N (T.30)، در اختیارِ کتابخانه‌ی مهرجی رانا، در شهر نوساری در هند، و با مقابله با دست‌نوشته‌ی P (S.P.47)، در اختیارِ کتابخانه‌ی ملی فرانسه، در شهر پاریس، دست‌نوشته‌ی N^2 (F.44)، در اختیارِ کتابخانه‌ی مهرجی رانا، در شهر نوساری در هند، دست‌نوشته‌ی M (Z.73‘H.28’)، در اختیارِ کتابخانه‌ی شهر، در شهر مونیخ در آلمان، دست‌نوشته‌ی O (Bodl.Or.719)، در اختیارِ کتابخانه‌ی بودلیان، در شهر آکسفورد در انگلستان، و دست‌نوشته‌ی L (No.830)، در

[1135] P: تمامت الکتاب ویراف‌نامه، از تاریخ نخستینِ خوردادماه قدیم رسید N^2:   تمام شد. تمت‌الخیر کتاب ویراف‌نامه نثر، به روز مبارک خورشید ایزد، به ماه خجسته خرداد امشاسفند، سال اَوَر یکهزار و دوصد و چهل و هشت از شهنشاه یزدگرد شهریار. کاتب و مالک این کتاب، کمترین، ایرج‌دستور سهراب‌جی بن دستور کاوس‌جی الملقب به دستوران دستورِ مهرجی رانا، ساکن قصبه نوساری، این را در شهر مُنبَی [بُمبَی/ مومبَی] نوشته شد [کذا]. اَز کتابی که این را نقل کردم، آن اصلِ کتاب در کتابخانه ملافیروز در سال یکهزار و چهل یزدگردی نوشته است. از آن کتاب نقل کَردم. و این ویراف‌نامه، در سال هشتصد و نود و شش یزدگردی، از ایران آورده بود[ند]. همچون در آن کتاب نوشته است. یزدان به کام باد. تم تم تم   تم تم   تم   O: تمت تم   L: از جمله کناهان که بدانسته و بنادانسته جسته‌ایم اواخش پشیمان و فه‌پتت هم. انجام یافت. تم تم تم   تم تم   تم

استوان و بی‌گمان[۱۱۱۷] دارند؛ و آن نیکی. و دیگران را به‌گوی که بهرِ این جهان و آن جهان[۱۱۱۸]،[۱۱۱۹] دینِ بِهِ مازدیسنان، از یاد باز مکنید[۱۱۲۰] و دست باز مدارید،[۱۱۲۱] چه که فردا پشیمانی سود ندارد. و دیگرباره با گیتی نگذارند که شما مُزد و کرفه کنید و از خواب غفلت بیدار شوید.»

[۱۱۲۲] احوال، چنین[۱۱۲۳] نموده[۱۱۲٤] آمد، از خدای تعالی.

خداوند ما را از همه بلاها و عذاب‌ها نگاه دارد، [۱۱۲۵]و دین بِه‌آویژه[۱۱۲٦] مازدیسنان را بر ما همان دارد، و[۱۱۲۷] بلاهای[۱۱۲۸] آهرمن[۱۱۲۹] از من دور کناد. و شرمِ مردمان و سِحرِ آهرمن[۱۱۳۰] و دیوانِ به لعنت، در راه ما مباد. چه، این نیکی و بدیِ این جهان به سر آید. اگر نیک بُوَد و اگر بد، بنمانَد. و بدان جهان اندوه خوردن و پشیمانی، به کار[۱۱۳۱] سود ندارد.

از جملهٔ گناه‌ها[۱۱۳۲] که دانسته [و] به نادانسته است، اَجَش و[۱۱۳۳] اَخَش و پشیمان و پَتَفتَم[۱۱۳٤].

[1117] M: برگ 91b، روی واژه‌های «استوان و بی‌گمان» آسیب دیده و تنها «استوا» در آن پیداست.

[1118] P: – جهان و آن جهان

[1119] NPN²MO: + و

[1120] NPN²: میکنند. بر پایه‌ی فعل بعدی، «مدارید»، به «مکنید» تصحیح قیاسی شد.

[1121] NPN²MO: + و

[1122] N²: + و

[1123] NN²M: + که

[1124] P: کرده

[1125] M: از این‌جا به بعد را ندارد

[1126] P: – آویژه

[1127] NN²PO: + از

[1128] O: بلاها

[1129] NN²O: اهرمن

[1130] NO: اهرمن

[1131] P:– به کار

[1132] N²: کناهان P: کناههای

[1133] N²: او

[1134] NO: پتتم N²: پتفتم بباید کفت P: پتت هم

بودم[۱۰۹۵] و چیزی نتوانستم گفتن[۱۰۹۶]. آوازی آمدی که: «ای اردای‌ویراف[۱۰۹۷]، برگرد و[۱۰۹۸] بر شهرِ خویشتن شو[۱۰۹۹]، که چند مردم از بهرِ تو در رنجند[۱۱۰۰]. هفت شبان‌روز است که هیچ کس نیاسوده است، و گوش می‌دارند[۱۱۰۱] تا چه پیغام خواهی بردن[۱۱۰۲]. هر چه دیدی، همه راست گوی. نگر تا دروغ نگویی، چه تنِ[۱۱۰۳] ترا من می‌بینم.»

و من چون آواز[۱۱۰۴] شنیدم، به روی درافتادم. و بعد، از روشنی، هیچ چیزی دیگر نمی‌دیدم[۱۱۰۵].

و[۱۱۰۶] پس دیگرباره[۱۱۰۷] آواز آمدی[۱۱۰۸] که[۱۱۰۹] گفتی: «ای اردای‌ویراف[۱۱۱۰]، مردمان را به‌گوی[۱۱۱۱] راهِ راست اندر جهان یکی است، و هر چه جز آن است، همه گمراهی است. و مردم را به‌گوی که، نه آن‌گاه که مال و نعمت بسیار باشد، و نه آن‌گاه که در محنت و رنج باشند،[۱۱۱۲] پُشت بر دینِ بِه[۱۱۱۳] نه‌کنند و پیوسته [148b] اعتقاد و نیّت راست دارند و نیکو نیّت و نیکو کردار باشند، و دل در دینِ اورمزد[۱۱۱۴] به‌افزونی، و[۱۱۱۵] پیغام‌بریِ زراتشتِ سفنتمان[۱۱۱۶]

1095 P: نماز بردم و من خیره و عاجز بمانده بودم

1096 P: کفتم

1097 N^2: ارداویراف

1098 M: – و

1099 P: برکرد بر شهر خویشتن

1100 N^2: + و

1101 P: + که

1102 N^2: کردن

1103 P: – تن

1104 M: آوزی

1105 P: نمی‌دیدیم

1106 P: – و

1107 N: دیکر و باره

1108 M: آمیدی

1109 P: و

1110 N^2: ارداویراف   M: حاشیه‌ی برگ، که این واژه در آن آمده، آسیب دیده است

1111 N^2O: + که

1112 NN^2M: + و

1113 NN^2M: – به

1114 NPMO: هورمزد

1115 NN^2M: + به

1116 P: اسپنتمان N^2: اسفنتمان

و اردیبهشت امشاسفند[۱۰۷۷] پرسیدم که: «این مردمان[۱۰۷۸] چه گناه کرده‌اند؟» گفتند: «این جمله، مهر و[۱۰۷۹] دروج[۱۰۸۰] کرده‌اند، چه با هم‌دینان، و[۱۰۸۱] چه با دیگر کسان[۱۰۸۲]. پنداشته‌اند که قول و پیمان که با جُددینان به دروغ کنی، گناه نخواهد بود. ندانسته‌اند که مهر و[۱۰۸۳] دروج[۱۰۸۴]،[۱۰۸۵] چه[۱۰۸۶] با اشوان[۱۰۸۷] و[۱۰۸۸] چه با دروَندان، هر دو یکسان است. تا اکنون لاجرم در این عذاب مانده‌اند[۱۰۸۹].»

[در پنجاه و نهم]

رسیدن اردای‌ویراف باز به مینوی روشن[۱۰۹۰]

و پس سروش اشو و[۱۰۹۱] اردیبهشت امشاسفند، مرا از آن جای تنگ و تاریک بیرون آوردند و به گروثمان بردند.

[در شصتم]

رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به بارگاه ایزد تعالی[۱۰۹۲]

و چون آن‌جا رسیدم، خُوَرّه و وَرج‌افزایشْ دادار اورمزد[۱۰۹۳] را دیدم. و چندانک کوشیدم در خُوَرِّه[۱۰۹۴] و فرِّ یزدان نماز برم، متحیّر و عاجز بمانده

1075 NPN²: روان‌ها

1076 N²M: – و

1077 N²: – و اردیبهشت امشاسفند

1078 N²: مرد

1079 P: – و

1080 L: درج

1081 M: – و

1082 PN²: کسانی

1083 P: – و

1084 L: درج

1085 N: + «کرده‌اند»، اما بعد خط زده شده است.

1086 M: چه

1087 P: باشوان

1088 P: – و

1089 P: بمانده‌اند

1090 NPN²MO: – رسیدن اردای‌ویراف باز به مینوی روشن

1091 N: – و

1092 NPN²MO: – رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به بارگاه ایزد تعالی

1093 M: هورمزد

1094 M: خره

او را به مارِ افعی *می‌زدند، و او فریاد می‌داشت. من از سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» گفتند که: «حدِّ زمینِ مردمان بِدُزدیده[۱۰۵۷] است و در[۱۰۵۸] حدِّ زمینِ خویشتن گرفته است. تا آن زمین بر جای باشد، او را نو نو پادافراه بدین[۱۰۵۹] سان نمایند.»

[در پنجاه و هفتم]

رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به مقام مردی که عهد و پیمان شکسته است[۱۰۶۰]

و پس از آن‌جا درگذشتیم و به[۱۰۶۱] جایگاهی فراز رسیدیم[۱۰۶۲]. روان مردی را دیدم[۱۰۶۳] که به شانهٔ آهنین، گوشتِ[۱۰۶۴] اندام او را می‌خاریدند[۱۰۶۵]، هم‌چنان که موی، که[۱۰۶۶] به شانه‌ای کنند، و او فریاد و زاری می‌کرد. و[۱۰۶۷] من از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت که: «این مرد عهد و پیمان و[۱۰۶۸] زنهار به دروغ کرده است، و قول بر خویشتن بنه‌ایستاده است*[۱۰۶۹].»

[در پنجاه و هشتم]

رسیدن اردا به مقام مردمانی که مهر و دروج[۱۰۷۰] کرده‌اند[۱۰۷۱]

و از آن‌جا درگذشتیم. به جایگاهی[۱۰۷۲] دیگر[۱۰۷۳] فراز رسیدیم[۱۰۷۴]. روان‌هایی[۱۰۷۵] دیدم که ایشان را به تیر و سنگ می‌زدند. و[۱۰۷۶] من از سروش اشو

1056 N^2: رسیدم
1057 N: بدزده
1058 N^2: – در
1059 N: + و
1060 NPN^2MO: – رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به مقام مردی که عهد و پیمان شکسته است
1061 N: – و به P: – و
1062 P: بجای دیکر رسیدیم
1063 P: دیدیم
1064 P: + از
1065 P: می‌خاریدن
1066 PN^2: – که
1067 N^2: – و
1068 P: – و
1069 M: بین دو ستاره، از میانه‌ی درِ پنجاه و ششم تا این‌جا را ندارد.
1070 L: درج
1071 NPN^2MO: – رسیدن اردا به مقام مردمانی که مهر و درج کرده‌اند
1072 P: بجایی
1073 M: حاشیه‌ی برگ پاره شده و از «دیگر»، تنها «د» باقی مانده است.
1074 N^2: و از انجا در کذشتم بجایکاهی فراز رسیدم

باز می‌خوردند. از سروش اشو پرسیدم[۱۰۴۱] که: «این قوم چه گناه کرده‌اند؟» سروش اشو گفت: [148a] «این قوم به گرمابه شده‌اند چون جُددینان. و اسفندارمد امشاسفند[۱۰۴۲] و مینوی آب و آتش از ایشان بیازرده است، که روان خویشتن را ریمن بکرده‌اند.»

[در پنجاه و پنجم]

رسیدن به مقام مردی که زمین مردمان ببرده است[۱۰۴۳]

پس از آن‌جا درگذشتیم.[۱۰۴۴] به جایگاهی دیگر فراز رسیدیم[۱۰۴۵]. روان مردی را[۱۰۴۶] دیدم که کوهی در[۱۰۴۷] پشت وی نهاده بودند، و او در زیر آن کوه بانگ و[۱۰۴۸] فریاد می‌داشت. من از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت: «زمین مردمان را[۱۰۴۹] خراجِ گران نهاده است، و بدعت‌های نو فراز نهاده است تا مردمان از دِه و[۱۰۵۰] دودهٔ[۱۰۵۱] خویش آواره شده‌اند و به درویشی افتاده‌اند. به سببِ خراج گران، به جایگاه خویشتن نیارست شدن.»

[در پنجاه و ششم]

رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به مقام مردی که زمین مردمان دزدیده است[۱۰۵۲]

و[۱۰۵۳] از آن‌جا درگذشتیم و[۱۰۵۴] به جایگاهی[۱۰۵۵] دیگر فراز رسیدیم[۱۰۵۶]. روان مردی را دیدم که کوهی به ناخن می‌کَند. و موَکِّل بر سرش ایستاده بودند، و

[1041] M: تنها واژه‌ی «پرسیدم» در آغاز برگ 87a آمده و بقیه‌ی صفحه سفید است. اما دنباله‌ی متن، بدون افتادگی، در برگ 87b ادامه یافته است. در برگ 87b، واژه‌ی «پرسیدم» دوباره و به تکرار آمده است.

[1042] N^2: – امشاسفند

[1043] NPN^2MO: – رسیدن به مقام مردی که زمین مردمان ببرده است

[1044] M: + و

[1045] N^2: پس از انجا در کذشتم و بجایکاهی فراز رسیدم

[1046] N^2: – را

[1047] N^2: بر

[1048] M: و او. اما بعد روی «او» خط خورده است.

[1049] M: – را

[1050] P: – ده و

[1051] N^2: ازو به و دودهٔ M: «از ده و ده»، اما بعد روی آن خط کشیده شده و بالایش نوشته‌اند: «ده و دو»، اما بعد روی «و دو» خط کشیده شده و بالای آن نوشته‌اند: «بده»

[1052] NPN^2MO: – رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به مقام مردی که زمین مردمان دزدیده است

[1053] P: پس

[1054] NN^2: – و

[1055] P: بجایی

سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این مرد، مُزد از مُزدوران[1025] باز گرفته است، و بهرهٔ مردمان ببُرده[1026] است.»

[در پنجاه و سیُّوم]

رسیدن به مقام مردی که با زن کسان ناسپاسی[1027] کرده است[1028]

پس از آن‌جا درگذشتیم. به جایگاهی دیگر فراز رسیدیم[1029]. مردی را دیدم که کوهی در[1030] پشت گرفته بود و اندر رنج می‌رفت. و چهد کردی که باز ایستد، سهمش می‌دادند تا[1031] همچنان به[1032] رنج و دشواری می‌رفت. من از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد[1033] چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این مرد با زن مردمان ناسپاسی کرده است، و زن مردمان[1034] از راه به‌برده است[1035].»

[در پنجاه و چهارم]

رسیدن ارداویراف به مقام مردمی که به گرماپه پلید رفته است[1036]

و پس از آن‌جا درگذشتیم[1037]. به جایگاهی دیگر فراز رسیدیم[1038]. قومی مردم را دیدم همه در میان یخ، افسرده تا به گردن در نشسته[1039]، و هر یکی طاسی پُر از خون و مویِ مردم پیش ایشان نهاده بودند[1040]، و چوبشان می‌زدند تا

1025 M: مژدوران
1026 N^2: به‌برده
1027 L: ناسامانی
1028 NPN^2MO: – رسیدن به مقام مردی که با زن کسان ناسپاسی کرده است
1029 N^2: پس از انجا در رسیدم و بجایکاه دیکر فراز شدیم P: بجای دیکر رسیدم
1030 N^2: بر
1031 N^2: – تا
1032 N^2: در
1033 P: – مرد
1034 P: + را
1035 N: به‌برده‌اند N^2: برده است M: با زن مردمام از راه ببرده است و ناسپاسی کرده است.
1036 NPN^2MO: – رسیدن ارداویراف به مقام مردمی که به گرمابه پلید رفته است
1037 N^2M: + و
1038 P: بجایی دیکر رسیدیم
1039 N^2: نشست
1040 P: بود

جادویی کرده است[1007] و جادویی آموخته است[1008]. خود کردی و دیگر کسان را گفتی تا از بهرِ وی جادویی کردندی. و بر این کار مشغول بود.»

[در پنجاه و یکم]

رسیدن به مقام مردی که ریمنی نیکو نه‌پهریخته است[1009]

و پس[1010] از آن‌جا درگذشتیم[1011]. به جایگاهی[1012] دیگر[1013] فراز رسیدیم. روان مردی را دیدم که خون و گوشت و ریمِ مردمان به خوردش می‌دادند. از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این مرد، در جهان، هیخر[1014] و نسا و ریم و موی و ناخن، نیکو نه‌پهریخته[1015] است، و خوار گذاشته است تا در آب و[1016] آتش افتاده[1017] است[1018]. و[1019] تنش پلید و ریمن بود، و برشنوم نکرده است، و هم‌چنان بر پلیدی به‌مُرد[1020].»

[در پنجاه و دوُیم]

رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به مقام دگر[1021]

و از آن‌جا درگذشتیم و[1022] به جایگاهی دیگر فراز رسیدیم[1023]. روان مردی را دیدم که گوشت و پوست مردمان می‌خورد و بانگ و[1024] فریاد می‌داشت. از

1007 N: این جمله دو بار پشت سر هم آمده است: «و جادویی کرده است و جادویی کرده است»

1008 P: + و

1009 NPN^2MO: – رسیدن به مقام مردی که ریمنی نیکو نه‌پهریخته است

1010 M: – پس

1011 N^2M: + و

1012 P: بجایی

1013 N^2: – دیکر

1014 NN^2O: حشتر   P: خسر   L: هجر   M: حشتر. اما بعد روی آن خط خورده و در حاشیه‌ی صفحه نوشته است: «هیچر».

1015 P: نکو پرهیخته

1016 M: – و

1017 M: آفتاده

1018 N^2: رود

1019 P: – و

1020 PN^2: بمرد

1021 NPN^2MO: – رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به مقام دگر

1022 N^2: – و

1023 P: بجایی دیکر رسیدیم M: رسیدم

1024 NP: – و

سگ را نان نداده است، و سگ را[۹۹۰] نیکو نداشته است. اکنون بدین عذاب مانده است که تو می‌بینی.»

[در چهل و نهم]

رسیدن به مقام زنی[۹۹۱] که موی و ناخن نیکو نه‌پهریخته است[۹۹۲]

و[۹۹۳] پس از آن‌جا درگذشتیم. به جایگاهی دیگر فراز[۹۹۴] رسیدیم. روان زنی را دیدم که روزبانان[۹۹۵] بدو گِرد آمده بودند[۹۹۶]، و گیسوی او را گرفته بودند، و در میان یخ و برف او را می‌کشیدند، و چوبش می‌زدند[۹۹۷]. از سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند[۹۹۸] پرسیدم که:«این زن چه گناه کرده است؟» گفتند که[۹۹۹]: «این زن، بر آتش، موی به شانه کرده است و در آتش ریخته، و موی و ناخن، نیکو نه‌پهریخته[۱۰۰۰] است. و[۱۰۰۱] بر سر آتش، بی زیرجامه نشسته است.»

[در پنجاهم]

رسیدن به مقام زنان جادوگر[۱۰۰۲]

و پس از آن‌جا درگذشتیم و به جایگاهی دیگر فراز رسیدیم[۱۰۰۳]. زنی را دیدم که گوشت از اندام خویشتن به کارد می‌بُرید و می‌خورد. از سروش اشو[۱۰۰۴] پرسیدم که: «این زن چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو[۱۰۰۵] گفت[۱۰۰۶]: «این زن

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989 N: به‌کشته

990 P: + و سگ را تباه کردانیده است و

991 L: مردی

992 NPN^{2}MO: – رسیدن به مقام زنی که موی و ناخن نیکو نه‌پهریخته است

993 M: – و

994 P: بجایی فراز

995 M: زوربانان

996 N^2: زوربانان بدو زور میکردند

997 PM: + و

998 N^2: امشاسپند

999 N^2: سروش اشو کفت

1000 P: نه‌پرهیخته

1001 P: + او

1002 NPN^{2}MO: – رسیدن به مقام زنان جادوگر

1003 P: بجایی دیکر رسیدیم M: رسیدم

1004 P: + و اردیبهشت امشاسفند

1005 P: – سروش اشو

1006 P: کفتند

[در چهل و هفتم]

رسیدن اردا به مقام مرد منافق[۹۷۱]

پس از آن‌جا درگذشتیم و[۹۷۲] به جایگاهی دیگر فراز رسیدیم. قومی مردم را دیدم که همه اندامشان پوسیده بود، و رخساره زرد[۹۷۳] شده بود، و کِرم در اندام ایشان بود[۹۷۴]، و از اندامشان کِرم بیرون می‌آمدند[۹۷۵]. من از سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند[۹۷۶] پرسیدم که: «این قوم کیستند که بر این صفت شده‌اند؟» گفتند که: «این روان آشموغان و منافقان است، که در دل چیزی داشته‌اند و به زبان[۹۷۷] چیزی دیگر می‌گفته‌اند[۹۷۸]، و مردم [147b] را فریب می‌داده‌اند، و از راه دینِ بِهِ مازدیسنان به دیگر اعتقادها می‌برده‌اند[۹۷۹]، و کیش‌ها و مذهب‌های بد در جهان آشکارا می‌کرده‌اند.» این به‌گفتند و از آن‌جا درگذشتیم.

[در چهل و هشتم]

رسیدن به مقام کسی که سگان کُشته است[۹۸۰]

به جایگاهی دیگر فراز رسیدیم[۹۸۱]. روان مردی را دیدم[۹۸۲] که سگ او را می‌درید و پاره پاره را در پیش او می‌افکنده[۹۸۳]، و[۹۸۴] همه اندامهاش[۹۸۵] از یکدیگر[۹۸۶] جدا می‌کردند، و او بانگ و فریاد می‌داشت. من از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این روان آن مرد است که سگِ آبی و سگِ شبانی و سگِ[۹۸۷] مانی[۹۸۸] را بکُشته[۹۸۹] است، و

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[971] NPN^{2}MO: – رسیدن اردا به مقام مرد منافق

[972] NN^2: – و

[973] P: زرده

[974] P: بوده

[975] P: آمدند

[976] P: – و اردیبهشت امشاسفند

[977] N: دل P: و دل M: و دل. اما بعد روی آن خط خورده است.

[978] N^2: کفته‌اند

[979] P: میرفتند

[980] NPN^{2}MO: – رسیدن به مقام کسی که سگان کشته است

[981] P: و بجایی دیکر رسیدیم M: رسیدم

[982] P: دیدیم

[983] N^2: می‌افکندند M: میفکند

[984] M: – و

[985] P: اندامهایش

[986] M: – یکدیکر

[987] N: سکی

[988] N^2: – سک مانی

گناه کرده است؟» گفتند که: «این زن کودک به زیان آورده است و بیفکنده است.»

[در چهل و پنجم]

رسیدن به مقام کسی که گواهی دروغ داده است[956]

پس از آن‌جا درگذشتیم و[957] به جایگاهی[958] دیگر[959] فراز رسیدیم. روان مردی را دیدم که کِرم اندامش می‌خورد[960]. از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این مرد گواهی به دروغ[961] داده است، و بدان[962] سبب، خواستهٔ بِهان روزیِ ناارزانیان شده است. و خواسته، دیگران به‌بُردند و[963] عذاب بر این بدبخت بمانده است.»

[در چهل و ششم]

رسیدن به مقام مردی که مال حرام گِرد کرده[964]

از آن‌جا درگذشتیم. به جایگاهی[965] دیگر[966] فراز رسیدیم. روان مردی را دیدم که مغزِ نسای[967] می‌خورد. از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این مرد مال و خواستهٔ حرام[968] اندوخته است. اکنون آن مال و[969] خواسته به جایگاه رها کرد و بر این جا[970] پادافراه می‌گذارد، تنها و بی یار و بی کس مانده است.

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955 N: «پرسیدم» در حاشیه‌ی متن نوشته شده است.

956 NPN²MO: – رسیدن به مقام کسی که گواهی دروغ داده است

957 NN²M: – و

958 P: بجایی

959 M: – و

960 P: + و

961 M: بکواهی دروغ

962 M: بر ان

963 N²: – و

964 NPN²MO: – رسیدن به مقام مردی که مال حرام گِرد کرده

965 P: بجایی

966 M: – دیکر

967 M: نسا

968 N²: – حرام

969 M: – و

970 N²: بدینجا

بر آن پاداشن، آن[۹۳۸] یک پای او از دوزخ بیرون است، و دیگر همه تن[۹۳۹] او در دوزخ است و خرفستر می‌خورَد.»

[در چهل و سیُّوم]

رسیدن به مقام دروغگویان[۹۴۰]

و[۹۴۱] پس از آن‌جا درگذشتیم و[۹۴۲] به جایگاهی[۹۴۳] دیگر فراز رسیدیم. روان مردی را دیدم که زفانش[۹۴۴] از دهان بیرون کشیده بودند و سنگی زیر نهاده بودند، و سنگی سخت بزرگ از بالا[۹۴۵] بر سر زفانش[۹۴۶] می‌زدند. از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت که: «این روانِ دروغ‌زن بوده است. و [از] دروغ‌ها که این مرد گفتی، بسیار مردم در رنج افتادند[۹۴۷] و زیان‌ها به مردم رسیدی.»

[در چهل و چهارم]

رسیدن به مقام زنی که کودک به زیان آورده و کُشته بود[۹۴۸]

پس از آن‌جا درگذشتیم. به جایگاهی دیگر فراز[۹۴۹] رسیدیم. روان زنی را دیدم[۹۵۰] که به پستان کوه می‌کند. و هر ساعت آسیای سنگ بر سرِ پستانِ وی می‌گردانیدند[۹۵۱] و بدو، پستان او را خورد می‌کرد، و آن زن فریاد می‌داشت[۹۵۲]. من از سروش اشو و[۹۵۳] اردیبهشت امشاسفند[۹۵۴] پرسیدم[۹۵۵] که: «این زن چه

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938 NN^{2}M: – آن

939 N^2: اعضای

940 NPN^{2}MO: – رسیدن به مقام دروغگویان

941 N: و و

942 NM: – و

943 P: بجایی

944 N^2: زبانش

945 M: بالای

946 NPN^{2}MO: زبانش. بر پایه‌ی موارد دیگر متن، به «زفانش» تصحیح شد.

947 N^2: افتادی

948 NPN^{2}MO: – رسیدن به مقام زنی که کودک به زیان آورده و کشته بود

949 P: بجایی فراز

950 P: دیدیم

951 NPN^2: می‌کردانید

952 P: + و

953 N: – و

954 N^2: – و اردیبهشت امشاسفند

سختی است؟» [147a] سروش اشو گفت که[۹۱۹]: «این مردی شوم‌منش بود بر زندگانی، و مال و خواستهٔ بسیار گِرد آورد، و نه خود خورد[۹۲۰] و نه کس داد[۹۲۱] و نه به یزشنِ یزدان[۹۲۲]، و نه وِهان[۹۲۳] و ارزانیان را بهره کرد[۹۲٤]. جمع کرد و[۹۲۵] می‌اندوخت و نگاه می‌داشت. اکنون، خواسته دیگر کسان برگرفتند و عذاب و رنج بر این بدبخت بماند.» من بر آن روان[۹۲٦] سخت به‌بخشودم[۹۲۷]، که در هر دو جهان در عذاب مانده[۹۲۸] بود.

[در چهل و دویُم]

رسیدن به مقام اژگهن[۹۲۹]

و پس از آن‌جا درگذشتیم و[۹۳۰] به جایگاهی دیگر فراز رسیدیم. روان مردی را دیدم که همه تن او[۹۳۱] در دوزخ بود[۹۳۲] و یک پای او از دوزخ بیرون بود. و خرفستران بر آن یک پایِ او هیچ گزندی نمی‌کردند. از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این روان کیست؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این روان مردی است که نام او دوانوس[۹۳۳] بود. و چنان کاهل بود که[۹۳٤] هرگز هیچ کار نیکی نمی‌کرد،[۹۳۵] الاّ آن یک پای او، یک بار پاره‌ای علف پیش گوسپندی[۹۳٦] انداخته است[۹۳۷]. اکنون

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919 N^2: – که

920 P: خورده

921 NPM: دهد

922 P: یزدان یزشن

923 NM: نه به وهان N^2: بوها

924 N^2: + و

925 NN^2: – و

926 N^2: – روان

927 P: بخشودم

928 P: بمانده

929 NPN^2MO: – رسیدن به مقام اژکهن

930 NN^2: – و

931 N^2: – او

932 N: پاره‌ی آخر دو بار پشت سر هم آمده است: «در دوزخ بود و در دوزخ بود»

933 NPMO: یونس N^2L: دنس. بر پایه‌ی متن پارسیگ، تصحیح قیاسی شده است.

934 P: بکاهلی

935 NM: نمیکردند

936 P: کوسفند M: کوسفندی

937 N^2: الا یک پای او بارهٔ علف برش کوسپندی انداخت

آویخته بودند، و می‌کشیدند[906] و می‌خوردند. من از سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند[907] پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این مرد در آن جهان غمّازی کرده است و مردمان را بر هم افکنده است [که] با یکدیگر[908] جنگ و عداوت کرده‌اند[909]. اکنون عذاب میدهندش[910].»

[در چهلم]

رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به مقام کسی که حیوانات کُشته است[911]

و پس از آن‌جا درگذشتیم و به جایگاهی[912] دیگر فراز رسیدیم. روان مردی را دیدم که اندام وی را از یکدیگر[913] جدا می‌کردند، و او فریاد می‌داشت. از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو[914] گفت: «این روان آن کس است که در آن جهان چهارپایان[915] و حیوانات بسیار کُشته است به بیدادی.»

[در چهل و یکم]

رسیدن به مقام مردی که مال و خواسته گِرد کرده و صرف دین نکرده[916]

چون از آن‌جا درگذشتیم و[917] به جایگاهی[918] دیگر فراز رسیدیم، روان مردی را دیدم که سر تا پای او شکنجه برنهاده‌اند. و هزار دیو بر وی موکّل بودند، و هر ساعت از نو شکنجهٔ دیگرگونه می‌کردند. و او زیر آن شکنجه بانگ و فریاد می‌داشت. من از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد کیست کَش پادافراه بر این

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904 NN²MO: کژدم
905 NN²M: زبانش
906 N²M: میکزیدند P: میکژیدند
907 N²: – اردیبهشت امشاسفند
908 M: یکدکر
909 P: کرده است
910 N: میدهیدش
911 NPN²MO: – رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به مقام کسی که حیوانات کشته است
912 P: بجایی
913 M: یکدکر
914 N²: – اشو
915 N²: چارپایان
916 NPN²MO: – رسیدن به مقام مردی که مال . خواسته گرد کرده و صرف دین نکرده
917 PN²: – و
918 P: بجایی

می‌خورد[889]، چوبش می‌زدند تا دیگرباره می‌خورد. از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این مرد در آن جهان سنگ و ترازو، دو رویه کم داشته[890] و قَفیز[891]، دو روی[892] کم داشته است. و شیر که به کسی می‌فروخت،[893] آب در میان آن می‌کرد. اکنون پادافراه می-دهندش از بس چیز که از مردم ببُرده است به حیلت و دروغ.»

[در سی و هشتم]

رسیدن اردا به مقام پادشاهان ظالم[894]

پس از آن‌جا درگذشتیم. به جایگاهی[895] دیگر فراز رسیدیم[896]. روان مردی را دیدم که مُعلّق بداشته بودند. و هفتاد دیو ایستاده بودند، و هر یکی مارِ افعی در دست داشته و بر وی می‌زدند[897]. و آن ماران دندان‌ها کردندی و گوشت از اندام وی ببُردندی، و او فریاد می‌داشت. از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این مرد بر آن[898] جهان پادشاهی ظالم بوده است و بیدادگر. و چیزی از مردم به زور بستدندی[899]. و مردم از او در رنج بودند. و مردم را زخم و ضرب[900] زدی و شکنجه نهادی. اکنون در این عذاب مانده است که تو می‌بینی.»

[در سی و نهم]

رسیدن اردا به مقام روانِ غمّازان[901]

و از آن‌جا درگذشتیم. به جایگاهی[902] دیگر فراز رسیدیم. روان مردی را دیدم که زفانش[903] از دهن بیرون افتاده بود، و مار و گژدهم[904] در زفانش[905]

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889 N²: میکرد

890 M: + است

891 N: قیفیز N²: قیفر

892 P: رویه

893 P: + و

894 NPN²MO: – رسیدن اردا به مقام پادشاهان ظالم

895 P: بجایی

896 PM: رسیدم

897 M: و وی بدو می‌زدند

898 M: بدان

899 P: بستدی N²: ستدندی

900 N: را ا زخم و ضرب P: را زخم ضرب N²: را از زخم ضرب

901 NPN²MO: – رسیدن اردا به مقام روان غمازان

902 P: بجایی

903 N²: زبانش

اشو گفت: «این آن قوم‌اند[۸۷۱] که در آن جهان کسانی[۸۷۲] بوده‌اند که کُشتی نداشته‌اند، و کسان[۸۷۳] بوده‌اند که به[۸۷٤] یک پای موزه رفته‌اند، و کسان بوده‌اند که آب‌تاختن از پای کرده‌اند. اکنون عذاب ایشان همه یکسان است.»

[در سی و ششم]

رسیدن اردا به مقام زنی که فرمان شوهر نبرده بود[۸۷٥]

و از آن‌جا درگذشتیم. به جایگاهی دیگر فراز[۸۷٦] رسیدیم. روان زنی را دیدم که سرنگون درآویخته بودند و زفانش[۸۷۷] از پسِ[۸۷۸] سر بیرون آورده بودند[۸۷۹].[۸۸۰] از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این زن چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت[۸۸۱]: «این زن جوابِ شوهر باز داده است، و فرمان شوهر نبُرده است، و هرچه شوهر به‌گفتی، او به خویشتن در چیزی بد، جواب شوهر باز دادی. شوهر را خوار داشتی، و شوهر را[۸۸۲] نفرین کردی. در این عذاب افتاده است که[۸۸۳] می‌بینی.»

[در سی و هفتم]

رسیدن به مقام آن مرد که به سنگِ کم چیز فروخته[۸۸٤]

و[۸۸٥] از آن‌جا درگذشتیم و به جایگاهی دیگر فراز[۸۸٦] رسیدیم. روان مردی را دیدم که به قَفیز[۸۸۷]، خاک و خرفستر[۸۸۸] می‌پیمود و می‌خورد. و هرگاه که کمتر

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871 M: آقومند
872 P: کسان
873 P: کسانی
874 P: – به
875 NPN²MO: – رسیدن اردا به مقام زنی که فرمان شوهر نبرده بود
876 P: و بجایی فراز
877 P: زفانش
878 PN²: – پس
879 M: آورده‌اند
880 NPM: + و
881 N²: + که
882 P: – شوهر را
883 M: + تو
884 NPN²MO: – رسیدن به مقام آن مرد که به سنگ کم چیز فروخته
885 P: – و
886 P: بجایی فراز
887 N: بقیفیز N²: بقنیز
888 P: خرافستر

امشاسفند از ایشان بیازرده است[۸۵۴]. اکنون عذاب می‌گذارند که از گرسنگی و تشنگی می‌میرند.»

[در سی و چهارم]

رسیدن به مقام زنی که روسپی کرده[۸۵۵]

و از آن‌جا درگذشتیم. به جایگاهی[۸۵۶] دیگر فراز رسیدیم. روان زنی را دیدم[۸۵۷] که به پستان بیاویخته بودند، و مار و گژدهم[۸۵۸] و دیگر خرفستران او را به شتاب می‌گزیدند و می‌دریدند و[۸۵۹] او فریاد می‌کرد. از سروش اشو و[۸۶۰] اردیبهشت امشاسفند پرسیدم که: «این زن چه گناه کرده است؟» گفتند: «این زن در آن جهان شوهر را بگذاشته است و روسپی کرده است. اکنون بدین نشان[۸۶۱] عذابش می‌دهندش.»

[در سی و پنجم]

رسیدن به مقام مردمی که گنه‌کار بوده‌اند[۸۶۲]

و[۸۶۳] پس از آن جایگاه درگذشتیم. و جایگاهی[۸۶۴] دیگر[۸۶۵] فراز رسیدیم. قومی مردم[۸۶۶] را دیدم[۸۶۷] که خرفستران و گزندگان و گرگ و شیر و مار و گژدهم[۸۶۸]، ایشان را می‌دریدند و می‌خوردند. من از سروش اشو [146b] و اردیبهشت امشاسفند[۸۶۹] پرسیدم که: «این قوم چه گناه کرده‌اند[۸۷۰]؟» سروش

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854 N²: بیازرده‌اند

855 NPN²MO: – رسیدن به مقام زنی که روسپی کرده

856 P: بجایی

857 P: دیدیم

858 NN²MO: کژدم

859 NPN²: – و

860 N: – و

861 P: بدینجهان

862 NPN²MO: – رسیدن به مقام مردمی که گنه‌کار بوده‌اند

863 PN²: – و

864 P: جایی

865 N²: – دیکر

866 N²: + دیکر

867 NPN²: دیدیم

868 NN²MO: کژدم

869 M: – و اردیبهشت امشاسفند

870 N²: کرده است

[در سی و دوئُم]

رسیدن به مقام مردی که با زن دشتان خفته[۸۳۸]

از آن‌جا[۸۳۹] درگذشتیم. به جایگاهی[۸۴۰] فراز رسیدیم[۸۴۱]. روان مردی را دیدم که بیفکنده بودند و از خونِ دشتانِ زنان در دهان وی می‌افکندند، و او زینهار[۸۴۲] می‌خواست. و از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت: «با زنِ دشتان خفته[۸۴۳] است و[۸۴۴] گرد آمده است. اکنون پادافراه می‌گذارد.»

[در سی و سیُم]

رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به مقام مردمی که کُستی نبسته‌اند[۸۴۵]

و از آن‌جا درگذشتیم. به جایگاهی دیگر فراز[۸۴۶] رسیدیم. روان مردی را دیدم[۸۴۷] که بانگ می‌داشت و می‌گفت که: «از گرسنگی جانم برآمد. از بهر خدا مرا نان و آب دهید.» و گوشت و پوست از اندام خویشتن می‌کَند و می‌خورد. و من از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این[۸۴۸] قوم آن کسانند[۸۴۹] که در آن جهان کُشتی نداشته[۸۵۰]، و کسان بودند که به[۸۵۱] یک پای موزه رفته‌اند، و چون نان و آب و میوه خورده‌اند، سخن می‌گفته‌اند [و] واژ نداشته‌اند، و[۸۵۲] خرداد امشاسفند و امرداد[۸۵۳]

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838 NPN²MO: – رسیدن به مقام مردی که با زن دشتان خفته

839 N: + و

840 P: بجایی

841 P: + و

842 PN²: زنهار

843 N: کفته P: با زدن دشتان کفته

844 NPM: – و

845 NPN²MO: – رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به مقام مردمی که کستی نبسته‌اند

846 P: بجایی فراز

847 P: دیدیم

848 NN²: + آن M: + آن. اما بعد روی «آن» خط خورده است.

849 P: این آن قومند آنکسانند

850 P: نداشتند M: نداشته‌اند

851 P: – به

852 N²: – و

853 NN²M: مرداد

[می]نمودند و از بیم، بازمی‌خورد. و[۸۲۱] چون تمام بازخوردی، دیگرباره پُر می‌کردند و هم‌چنان سهمش می‌نمودند تا دیگرباره بازخوردی. پس از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این زن چه گناه کرده است؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این زن در آن جهان دشتان نیکو نه‌پهریخته[۸۲۲] است[۸۲۳]، و[۸۲۴] خویشتن را پرهیز نکرده است، و بر سرِ آب و آتش شده است، و دشتان به پای[۸۲۵] برده است. اکنون در این عذاب سخت و سهم و بیم گرفتار است.»

[در سی و یکم]

رسیدن به مقام روانی که مرد اشو کُشته[۸۲۶]

از آن‌جا درگذشتیم و به جایگاهی دیگر باز[۸۲۷] رسیدیم[۸۲۸][۸۲۹]. روان مردی را دیدم که او را به یک پای آویخته بودند. و به کارد[۸۳۰]، پوست از سر او[۸۳۱] باز می‌کردند[۸۳۲] و فریاد و زاری می‌کرد. و ایشان را بر آن صفت، پوست از او می‌کَندند[۸۳۳] و[۸۳۴] او بانگ و فریاد می‌داشت[۸۳۵]. و از سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند[۸۳۶] پرسیدم که: «این مرد چه گناه کرده است[۸۳۷]؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این مرد آن کس است که مردِ اشو کُشته است. اکنون قصاص می‌کنند.»

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[821] N^2: – و
[822] PM: نه‌پرهیخته
[823] N^2: – است
[824] M: – و
[825] N^2: بیاری
[826] NPN^2MO: – رسیدن به مقام روانی که مرد اشو کشته
[827] P: – دیگر باز
[828] PN^2: رسیدم
[829] : + و
[830] N: و کارد N^2: و از کارد
[831] N^2: پوست او از سر
[832] N^2: پوست او از سر باز می‌کردند.
[833] N^2: میکندیدند
[834] N^2: + یک
[835] P: داشت
[836] P: – اردیبهشت امشاسفند
[837] N^2: – است

آن‌جا می‌آمدند، پنداشتی که هر جایگاه[۸۰۲] کوهی است، از بس[۸۰۳] که بر سرِ[۸۰٤] یکدیگر خفته بودند. و روان دروَندان در میان افکنده بودند. و[۸۰٥] یکی نیش به وی درمی‌داد، و یکی می‌درید و می‌گزید[۸۰٦]، همچنان که گرگ استخوان خورَد.

[در بیست و نهم]

رسیدن به مقام غلام‌بارگان[۸۰۷]

و[۸۰۸] پس سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند مرا به آسانی [146a] در آن جایگاه تاریک در[۸۰۹]بردند. چون نگاه کردم، روان‌ها دیدم که تن[۸۱۰] ایشان چون[۸۱۱] تن[۸۱۲] مار بود و سر چون سرِ مردم، و در دوزخ به این صفت[۸۱۳] می-رفتند[۸۱٤]. از سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند[۸۱٥] پرسیدم که: «این روان کیستند که با مار هستند[۸۱٦]؟» سروش اشو گفت[۸۱۷]: «این روانِ غلام‌بارگان و مواجران است که بدان جهان غلام‌بارگی و مواجری کرده‌اند. اکنون روان ایشان با مار[۸۱۸] است.»

[در سی‌ام]

رسیدن و دیدن زنی که دشتان نیکو نه‌پهریخته بود[۸۱۹]

و از آن‌جا درگذشتیم. و جایگاهی دیگر فراز رسیدیم[۸۲۰]. روان زنی را دیدم که طاسی پُر از خون و پلیدی مردم در دست داشت. و چوبش می‌زدند و سهمش

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[802] PM: جایکاهی

[803] M: پس

[804] N²: – بر سر

[805] M: – و

[806] P: می‌کژید

[807] NPN²MO: – رسیدن به مقام غلام‌بارگان

[808] P: – و

[809] P: – در

[810] N²: – تن

[811] P: جو

[812] P: – تن

[813] NPN²MO: در دوزخیان صفت

[814] P: + و

[815] P: – امشاسفند

[816] NN²PMO: «بوده‌اند». تصحیح قیاسی شده است.

[817] P: + که

[818] NN²PMO: + «بوده»

[819] NPN²MO: – رسیدن و دیدن زنی که دشتان نیکو نه‌پهریخته بود

[820] P: + و

بود که پنداشتی که تیغ و شمشیر است. و چون پاره‌ای برفت، سرنگون در دوزخ افتاد. پس من چون چنان دیدم، بر وی به‌بخشودم[۷۸۶].

[در بیست و هشتم]

رسیدن به مقام و جای دوزخیان[۷۸۷]

پس سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند دست من گرفتند [و] پسِ[۷۸۸] آن روانِ دروَند می‌بردند. چون پاره‌ای برفتم، چندان سرما و دمهِ[۷۸۹] گَندهایِ ناخوش بود که هرگز در جهان بر آن صفت، گَند[۷۹۰] نشنیده بودم. چون پیشتر شدیم، تاریکی دیدم که به دست فراز شایست[۷۹۱ ۷۹۲] گرفتن. و گَندهایی شنیدم که هر بار که بینی باز شدی[۷۹۳]، هر دم از هوش برفتی. و جایگاهی دیدم مانندهٔ چاهی، سیاهی دود[۷۹۴] از آن‌جا بیرون آمد. از تنگی چنان دیدم که به دشواری در آن‌جا شایست شدن. و[۷۹۵] دوزخیان را دیدم که هر یکی به بیغوله‌ای در تاریکی نشسته بودند[۷۹۶]. و از تاریکی، جایگاهی[۷۹۷] هر کس چنان بود که پنداشتی که تنها در آن‌جا گرفتار است، و کسی دیگر را جز وی، آن بلا نیست. و عذاب و غم و فریاد چندان می‌داشتند. و هیچ کس به فریاد یکدیگر نمی‌رسیدند، از بهر آنک[۷۹۸] تاریکی از گِرد بر گِردِ ایشان درآمده بود. و هیچ جایگاهی نبود که بیرون شوند، و مانندهٔ چاهی[۷۹۹] [بود]، و هر یکی بدین صفت بودند. و از بس[۸۰۰] عذاب و پادافراه[۸۰۱] که ایشان می‌کردند، هر روان که نو بر

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786 N^2: بخشودم
787 NPN^2MO: – رسیدن به مقام و جای دوزخیان
788 P: بدنبالهٔ
789 P: دمهٔ
790 N^2: کنده
791 N^2: شاید
792 N: + و
793 P: هر بار با بینی برسید
794 M: دو
795 N^2: – و
796 P: – بودند
797 N^2: «ی» در این‌جا، کارکردِ زیر دارد: جایگاهی = جایگاهِ
798 NPN^2: آنکه
799 NM: جایکاهی
800 M: پس
801 N: پاده‌فراه PM: باده‌فراه N^2: پادفراه

که یک ساعت از گزیدن[۷۷۱] نیاسایند ای بدبخت. که تو بودی، تا در آن جهان بودی، بر آن صفت بودی که اگر غریب‌ها[۷۷۲] رسیدی، تو درِ خانه[۷۷۳] را از[۷۷۴] پس به‌بستی، و دو تا نان پیش وی فراز نباید نهادن[۷۷۵]. و کسانی دیدی که ایشان را یزشن می‌فرمودند[۷۷۶] و یزشن می‌کردند، تو بر ایشان[۷۷۷] می‌گفتی که: «مرا امروز تفوقی[۷۷۸] باید، من چه[۷۷۹] دانم که فرداروز چه خواهد بود؟» اکنون آن‌ها همه از دست رفت و عذاب جاودانه آمد. از بدبختی که بودی، غرق شدی به دنیای. و دیگران را می‌دیدی که هم‌چو[۷۸۰] تو جوان بودند و به‌مُردند، و آن حسرت در دل ایشان بود تا او را به دخمه بردند، ترسی و بیمی اندک‌مایه ترا در دل بود. پس دیگرباره از یاد باز کردی، و به کار دنیایی مشغول شدی. مانندهٔ گوسپندی[۷۸۱] که گرگ وی را در رُباید و ببَرَد. تا گرگ پدیدار باشد، گوسپندان[۷۸۲] از دنبال وی نگاه کنند، و چون گرگ ناپدیدار شود، دیگرباره به چراکردن مشغول شوند. اکنون این‌همه رفت و تو[۷۸۳] این‌جا در دست آهرمن[۷۸۴] و دیوان بماندی. و از این ترا رنج بیشتر خواهد رسید از همه دیوان. تا در جهان مردمان به بدکرداری مشغول باشند، من هر روز زشت‌تر و سهمگین‌تر باشم و عذاب بیشتر نمایم.» و دست به گردن او به‌کرد[۷۸۵]. و چینود پول بر آن پهلو گردید که مانندهٔ تیغ اُستُرِه بود. و او چون پای بر پول نهاد، چنان سخت

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[771] P: کژیدن

[772] NPM: غریبی‌ها

[773] P: خان

[774] N^2: خانها از

[775] P: ننهادی

[776] N^2: فرمودند

[777] P: + و

[778] NPN^2MO: تفرقی L: نانی

[779] M: جه من

[780] PN^2M: همچون

[781] NPM: کوسفندی

[782] NPM: کوسفندان

[783] N: و تو و تو

[784] PN^2M: آهرمن

[785] N^2M: به‌کرد

بدید،[۷۵۳] بر آن زشتی و منکری و سهمناکی[۷۵۴]، می‌خواست که از وی بگریزد. و هیکل بانگ کرد و گفت: «تو از من نتوانی گریخت.»

روان گفت: «تو کیستی بر این زشتی و سهمناکی[۷۵۵] و سیاهی، که من هرگز از تو زشتی و[۷۵۶] زشت‌تر و[۷۵۷] سهمگن‌تر[۷۵۸] کس ندیدم؟»

گفت: «من فعل و کردار توام. و چون بدنیّت و بدفعل و بدقول بودی، من آن کردارهای[۷۵۹] توام.»

روان گفت: «چرا چنین زشت و سهمگین و سیاهی؟»

گفت که: «از بهر آنک[۷۶۰] تا مردم بر آن[۷۶۱] [145b] جهان به کار و کرفه کردن مشغول بودند و کوشیدند تا خویشتن را توشه‌ای سازند و برگیرند که بدین جهان ایشان را از عذاب دوزخ برهاند،[۷۶۲] تو[۷۶۳] همه در آن کوشیدی که تا، از حلال یا حرام، مالی گِرد آوریدی، که اکنون مال[۷۶۴] نمی‌باید خواندن[۷۶۵]، مار می‌باید خواند. و[۷۶۶] آن گندم که تو اندوختی، که به سود باز فروشی، اکنون گژدهم[۷۶۷] می‌باید خواند. و آن مال و گندم، دیگر کسان ببردند[۷۶۸]، و مار و گژدهم[۷۶۹] در جان تو، جگر تو[۷۷۰] آویزد، که تا رستخیزِ تنِ پسین می‌گزند،

753 NPN^{2}M: + و

754 M: سمهناکی

755 M: سمهناکی

756 P: – زشتی و

757 N: – و

758 PN^2: سهمکین‌تر NM: سهمکن‌تر

759 P: کردارها M: کردرآهای

760 NPN^2: آنک

761 N^2: – بر آن

762 N^2: + و

763 P: – تو

764 M: مالی

765 NN^2: خواند

766 P: – و

767 NN^{2}MO: کژدم

768 N^2: به‌بردند

769 NN^{2}MO: کژدم

770 NN^2: جان جکر تو M: جان و جکر تو

هیچ همراه ندارم. تنها کسی[۷۳۵] بی دلیل بمانده‌ام.» و این سخن می‌گفت و در تن نگاه می‌کرد و زاری و مویه بر خویشتن می‌کرد. و[۷۳۶] شب اوّل چندان رنج و دشواری بدو رسید، که تا در[۷۳۷] جهان بود نرسیده بود. و آهرمن[۷۳۸] و دیوان می‌کوشیدند که خودِ او را همان جا به دوزخ برند. و او از ایشان چنان می‌ترسید که گوسپند[۷۳۹] از گرگ ترسد. و آن روان را در آن سه شبان‌روز چندان رنج و عذاب بر وی رسید که بر دوزخیان مدت هزار سال نیاید. و بعد از[۷۴۰] سه شبان‌روز، وقتِ بام، آن روان را دیدم که به سرِ چینود پول رسید[۷۴۱] سیاه، و شتاب و بیم و زخم و ترسِ بسیاری کشیده و[۷۴۲] رنج‌ها برده. و بادی دیدم که از نیمه[۷۴۳] دوزخ پیش او باز آمد، که واختر[۷۴۴] خوانند، که هرگز آن‌چنان[۷۴۵] گَنده‌تر و ناخوش‌تر[۷۴۶] باد، کس نشنیده بود[۷۴۷]، چنانک امشاسفندان از[۷۴۸] گندِ آن باد از آن‌جا برفتند. و میان آن باد، صورتی و هیکلی دیدم،[۷۴۹] سیاه چون قطران. و دندان‌ها از پیش بیامده و[۷۵۰] چنگال‌های[۷۵۱] دراز و چشم‌های[۷۵۲] سرخ، و دود از دهان وی می‌آمد. و چون روان، این صورت را

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735 P: بیکس
736 N²: + در
737 NPN²: – در
738 NO: اهرمن
739 NP: کوسفند
740 M: – از
741 NN²: + و
742 P: – و
743 P: نیم
744 N: اختر M: اواختر
745 NPM: و آن
746 P: ناخوشی‌تر
747 M: بودند
748 N: – از
749 N: + و
750 M: – و
751 N²: چنکلهای M: جنکالها
752 M: جشمها. بعد از آن نیز به اندازه‌ی یک واژه، فضای خالی هست.

دشوارتر[۷۱۷] باشد بازگذشتن. و این کسان که تو می‌بینی که غرق شده‌اند[۷۱۸] و زینهار می‌خواهند و[۷۱۹] هیچ کس به فریاد ایشان نمی‌رسد، آن قوم‌اند که در آن جهان شیون و گریه و زاری بیشتر کرده‌اند. لاجرم روانِ فرزندان[۷۲۰] ایشان این‌جا[۷۲۱] عذاب می‌گذارند. پس تو چون[۷۲۲] در آن[۷۲۳] جهان روی، مردمان را به‌گوی اگر شفقتی بدین روان‌ها دارید[۷۲۴] و نمی‌خواهید که ایشان از کردار شما در رنج بمانند، و بدین عذاب گرفتار نباشند[۷۲۵]، پس روان ایشان[۷۲۶] کرفه کنند و دَرون به‌یَزَند، تا روان ایشان را راحتی باشد، و نه گریه و زاری کنند[۷۲۷] که ایشان در رنج باشند[۷۲۸].»

[در بیست و هفتم]

رسیدن و دیدن روان دوزخی به سر پول[۷۲۹]

پس سروش اشو و[۷۳۰] اردیبهشت امشاسفند مرا با سرِ چینود پول آوردند. روانی دیدم که جانش از تن برآمده بود[۷۳۱] و هم‌آن‌جا بر بالینِ تن نشسته بود و این سخن می‌گفت که: «ای وای بر من. چه کنم و کجا شوم و که را به یاری درخواهم که به فریادم دررسد[۷۳۲]؟[۷۳۳] که هیچ[۷۳۴] پشت و پناه و یارم نیست، و

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[716] P: در

[717] M: دشوارتری

[718] M: + که در ان جهان. اما بعد روی آن خط کشیده شده است.

[719] N²: که

[720] P: فرزند

[721] N²: – اینجا

[722] M: جونی

[723] NPM: – در آن N²: درین

[724] NPM: داری

[725] N: + و

[726] P: – از کردار شما در رنج بمانند و بدین عذاب کرفتار نباشند بس روان ایشان

[727] NPN²: کنی

[728] M: نخست «باشند» نوشته شده، اما بعد، با خطی دیگر، به آغاز آن «نـ» اضافه شده و به «نباشند» تغییر یافته است.

[729] NPN²MO: – رسیدن و دیدن روان دوزخی به سر پول

[730] N: – و

[731] M: – بود

[732] P: برسد

[733] NN²M: + و

[734] P: و کس بهیج

[در بیست و ششم]

رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به سر پول و حال دوزخیان و گنه‌کاران دیدن[٦٩٦]

و به جایگاهی[٦٩٧] فراز رسیدیم[٦٩٨]. رودی دیدم و آبی تار و گَندِه، مانندهٔ نفط[٦٩٩] سیاه. و چندانی آب بود که نُه نیزه بالا در او[٧٠٠]. و قعرِ[٧٠١] آن آب، روان‌ها دیدم که به دشواری از آن رود می‌گذشتند. [145a] بسیار روان‌ها بود که در میان رود غرق[٧٠٢] شده بودند، و از روان‌های دیگر زینهار می‌خواستند، و هیچ کس به فریاد ایشان نمی‌رسیدند. و بسیار روان‌ها بود که ویله و زاری و فریاد می‌کردند، چنان که کسی را مارِ افعی بگزد، که آن‌جا نتواند[٧٠٣] گذشتن، و به[٧٠٤] زور او را[٧٠٥] در آن‌جا افکندند. و بسیاری[٧٠٦] کس بود که خوارتر می‌گذشتند[٧٠٧]. من چون چنان دیدم، و آن[٧٠٨] هول و ترس و بیم و فریاد و ناله و زاری‌کردن، زینهارخواستن بر ایشان به‌بخشودم[٧٠٩]. از سروش اشو و[٧١٠] اردیبهشت امشاسفند[٧١١] پرسیدم که: « این چه قوم‌اند که به این دشواری از این رود می‌گذرند[٧١٢]؟ و این آب سیاه چیست؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این رود از آب چشم مردمان گِرد برآمده[٧١٣] است که از پسِ مُردگان بریزند. و هر کسی که از پسِ مُرده زاری و شیون و گریه بیشتر کنند[٧١٤]،[٧١٥] او را بر[٧١٦] این رود

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696 NPN²MO: – رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به سر پول و حال دوزخیان و گنه‌کاران دیدن

697 P: بجایی

698 N²: بجایکاه فراز رسیدم

699 M: نقطه

700 M: درود

701 N: قهر M: مهر

702 P: غرقه

703 N²: نتوان

704 NPN²MO: – به

705 P: و زوراوران

706 N²: بسیار

707 N²: میکذشتن

708 P: – آن

709 NM: به‌خشنودم O: نه‌بخشودم L: بخشنودم

710 NM: – و

711 N²: + را

712 P: میکذشتند M: میکزرند

713 N²: آمده

714 N²: بکنند

715 NPN²: + و

درمی‌آمدند و می‌شدند [و] همچو[679] مرغان پرنده، بازی می‌کردند. همه، پنداشتمی که پانزده ساله‌اند، و از هیچ گونه اندوه در دل ایشان ندیدم[680]. بلک[681] همه به کار خویش مشغول‌اند، و خرّم و[682] شادمان و طربناک بودند. و از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این چه قوم‌اند که از نورِ تابندگیِ ایشان من شادمان شدم، که هر یکی چون آفتاب و ماهتاب می‌تافتند؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این آن قوم‌اند که در آن جهان جادنگوییِ درویشان و ارزانیان و رَدان و[683] هیربدان و دستوران و آدران و آتشان کرده‌اند. و از بهر آن[684] غریبان و دردمندان و کودکان و یتیمان، چیزی از[685] مردم خواسته‌اند و به ایشان رسانیده‌اند[686]. اکنون بر این روشنی و بلندی رسیده‌اند که تو می‌بینی.» چون از آن جایگاه، بر آن خوشی و بر آن روشنی، به آن شاهسفرم‌ها[ی] گوناگون، که هر یکی بوی و رنگی دیگر داشتندی، و آب‌های روان چون گلاب دیدم، و خانه‌هایی که[687] هر یکی از جواهری[688] دیگر ساخته بودند، و کوشک‌های مُنَقَّش و بلند و روشن دیدم، چنان[689] مشتاق و آرزومندِ آن جایگاه شدم، که گفتم[690] هم این[691] جایگاه باز ایستم. و بر دل من سخت[692] عظیم و[693] نیکو[694] بود، و نه‌می‌خواستم از آن‌جا آمدن. پس سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند دست من گرفتند و از آن‌جا ببردند[695].

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679 M: همچون

680 NPM: + و

681 NPN²: بلکه

682 N: – و

683 N: – و

684 M: – و از بهر آن

685 N: – از P: باز

686 P: رسیده‌اند

687 M: + و

688 N²: جواهر

689 N²: – جنان

690 N²: کفتم که

691 P: همین

692 NP: + و

693 PM: – و

694 P: سخت و عظیم نیکو

695 N²: به‌بردند

بودند. و[٦٦٢] مُشک و عنبر از پیش[٦٦٣] ایشان می‌سوختند. و مینوان پیش ایشان خرّمی می‌کردند و ایشان را دل‌خوشی‌ها[٦٦٤] می‌دادند تا ایشان با یکدیگر بازی می‌کردند[٦٦٥]. از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این چه قوم‌اند که[٦٦٦] این همه مرتبه[٦٦٧] دارند، که امشاسفندان این همه تکلّف‌ها به[٦٦٨] ایشان می‌کنند و دل ایشان نگاه می‌دارند؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این آن قوم‌اند که در آن جهان کدخدایان[٦٦٩] بوده‌اند[٦٧٠]، و زمین‌ها آبادان کرده‌اند، و باغ‌ها و پوستان‌ها[٦٧١] بنا[٦٧٢] افکنده‌اند[٦٧٣]، و کاریزها بیرون آورده‌اند، و سرا[٦٧٤] و خانه‌ها کرده‌اند، و عمارت‌کردن دوست داشته‌اند. اکنون همه مینوان و[٦٧٥] آتش از ایشان خشنودند، و همه پیش ایشان ایستاده‌اند. و ایشان در آن جهان مینوان نگاه داشته‌اند، مینوان بدین جهان ایشان را پاداشن می‌دهند.» به چشم من آن قوم سخت[٦٧٦] نیکو آمدند.

[در بیست و پنجم]

رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به مقام جادنگویان[٦٧٧]

پس از آن جا درگذشتیم. به جایگاهی دیگر[٦٧٨] فراز رسیدیم. قومی مردم دیدم که هم‌چون آفتاب و ماهتاب می‌تافتند. از روشنیِ روی ایشان آن جایگاه چنان بود که پنداشتمی که آفتاب است. و جامه‌هایی از نور پوشیده بودند، و به هوا

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662 NN^2: – و
663 N^2: – از پیش
664 P: دل‌خوش
665 NPM: بازمیکردیدند   M: یکدکر باز میکردیدند
666 NPM: – که
667 N^2: مراتب
668 N^2: با
669 N^2: کدخدا
670 M: بودند
671 N^2: بستانها
672 N^2: – بنا
673 P: افکنده
674 N^2M: سرای
675 NPN^2: – و
676 N: + و
677 NPN^2MO: – رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به مقام جادنگویان
678 NN^2 MO: – دیکر

است. و هر کس را چیز[٦٤٤] زیادت می‌شود، زیادت می‌بایدش. مثلاً اگر کسی را خواسته‌ای[٦٤٥] بُوَد،[٦٤٦] پیوسته در غم گرفتار باشد و از پادشاه ظالم می‌ترسد که از وی بستاند، و از دزد[٦٤٧] می‌ترسد که از او[٦٤٨] بدزدد[٦٤٩]، و از مرد غمّاز می‌ترسد که بدان خواسته غمّازی کند[٦٥٠]. پیوسته بدین روزن و بدان روزن می‌گریزانَد، و عمر خویش بدان ترس و [144b] بیم به سر می‌بَرَد. و عاقبت به جایگاه رها[٦٥١] باید کردن، یا به روزی به ناارزانیان، و به دوریِ[٦٥٢] شوهر و زن شود. او در آن جهان از جهتِ خواسته در زحمت باشد، و در این جهان در رنج و عذاب افتد. پس ویراف، تو این اندرزها با مردمان بگوی تا عاقبت نگاه کنند و این کارِ جهان شناسند[٦٥٣].

و[٦٥٤] این سخن به‌گفت و از آن قوم درگذشتیم.

[در بیست و چهارم]

رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به مقام کدخدایان[٦٥٥]

[٦٥٦]جایگاهی[٦٥٧] فراز رسیدیم. قومی مردم[٦٥٨] را دیدم که جامه‌های نیکو پوشیده‌اند[٦٥٩] و مینویِ آب و آتش و مینویِ زمین و اورور[٦٦٠] و نبات و شجر پیش ایشان ایستاده بودند. و این، پادشاه‌وار بر بالش زربافت[٦٦١] نشسته

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644 N^2M: چیزی

645 N: + غمازی. اما بعد روی آن خط کشیده شده است.

646 P: + و

647 N^2: دزدی

648 NN^2: – او M: وی

649 N^2: دزد

650 NPM: کنند

651 NO: به جایکاه‌ها N^2: بجایکاها

652 N: بروزی N^2P: بدزدی O: بدوزی

653 PN^2: بشناسند

654 N^2M: – و

655 NPN^2MO: – رسیدن اردای‌ویراف به مقام کدخدایان

656 N^2: + و

657 P: بجایی

658 P: مرد

659 N^2: پوشیده

660 NML: اورر

661 N^2: زر

جاودان کشیدن، که هیچ راحت در آن جهان نیست که رنجی[٦٢٤]، یا[٦٢٥] از پیش یا از پسِ او نیست. اکنون مثلاً راحت نان خوردن است، تا درد گرسنگی[٦٢٦] از پیش به‌نگذارد[٦٢٧]، بر آن راحت نرسد. و دیگر، راحت تن‌آسانی است، که تا رنجِ[٦٢٨] شتاب‌کاری[٦٢٩] از پیش به‌نگذارد[٦٣٠]، بر آن[٦٣١] راحت نرسد. همه راحتی در دنیا هم‌چنین است. همه راحت با رنج آمیخته است، و همه[٦٣٢] ترا باید، و بسیار غمِ دیگر، ترا افزوده است. مثلاً ترا آن اسپی[٦٣٣] باید، تا ترا پیاده نباید رفتن. چون اسپ[٦٣٤] به دست آوری، کسی باید که خدمتِ اسپ[٦٣٥] کند، و به آب بردن و جو و کاه دادن. و چون کسی به دست آوردی[٦٣٦]، در غم آن کس افتی که نانش می‌باید و جامه. پیوسته در سرِ او گرفتار باشی. مثلاً کسی از ایزد تعالی فرزندی خواهد، و ایزد تعالی فرزندی بدهد[٦٣٧]. پیوسته در رنج گرفتار شود که نان و چیزی می‌بایدش. و چون بزرگ شود، در غم آن افتد که کتاب و چیزی آموختن. و پیوسته می‌ترسد[٦٣٨] که می‌ترسم[٦٣٩] که[٦٤٠] بیمار شود، یا به-میرد، و[٦٤١] یا چیزی به درد آید. و اگر به‌میرد، آن غمی باشد که هرگز از دل پدر و مادر به‌نشود، و یک روز ایشان شاد نباشند. و این کارِ جهان چنین است. و هر کس را آنچه باشدش،[٦٤٢] خورسند[٦٤٣] نباشد. و این کار جهان چنین

[624] M: رنج
[625] N²: – یا
[626] N: دردیکرسنکی
[627] M: نه‌بکذارد
[628] N: + و
[629] M: + به
[630] M: نه‌بکذارد
[631] N: «بر آن»، پاک شده، یا شاید در تصویر میکروفیلم نیامده است.
[632] P: هم
[633] NPMO: اسبی
[634] NPMO: اسب
[635] NPMO: اسب
[636] M: آوری
[637] P: و ایزد او را فرزندی دهد
[638] N²: می‌برند
[639] M: ترسم
[640] NP: + که
[641] M: – و
[642] P: + و
[643] N²PMO: خرسند

از یاد باز شود. بر آن سختیِ یک روزه که بدو رسیده شود[۶۰۳]، فریاد و[۶۰۴] زاری برگیرد و آن غنیمت پنجاه ساله بدو تلخ شود[۶۰۵] از آن اندک‌مایه زحمت[۶۰۶]. و[۶۰۷] هیچ راحت با وی نمانده باشد. و بر[۶۰۸] آن اندک‌مایه رنج[۶۰۹] یک روزه،[۶۱۰] پندارد که همه عمر خود رنج[۶۱۱] برده است. و پسِ این نیک و بد، بدانک عاقبت می‌باید که بهتر باشد. اکنون این قوم شبان بوده‌اند، و تو نگاه کن که در آن جهان چه رنج برده باشند، از بیابان‌های بی مردم، که این قوم تنها در آن‌جا، پیوسته چه ترس در دل ایشان بوده است[۶۱۲]، از بیمِ دزد و[۶۱۳] از بیم[۶۱۴] راه‌دار و گرگ. و شب‌ها که برف باریده است، و سرمای چنان بوده است که سر از سوراخ بیرون نشایست[۶۱۵] کردن،[۶۱۶] این قوم در میان برف بوده‌اند[۶۱۷] و گوسپندان[۶۱۸] را از گرگ و دگر[۶۱۹] آفت‌ها نگاه داشته‌اند، و آن رنج بر[۶۲۰] تن خویش گرفته‌اند. لاجرم اکنون آن رنج‌ها درگذشت، و بر این[۶۲۱] شادی و خرّمی رسیده‌اند که تو می‌بینی. پس چه باید مردم را بر آن مایه عمر خویش غرّه بودن، و آن روزی چند راحت، با رنج آمیخته، و به رنج[۶۲۲] زندگانی خویش کم کردن؟ و پس عاقبت، همه به جای رهاکردن، و عذابِ[۶۲۳]

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603 NPN^2: بود
604 M: – و
605 NPN^{2}M: + و
606 NPN^2: رحمت
607 N^2: – و
608 N^2: ازیرا
609 M: – رنج
610 NM: + و
611 N^2: برنج
612 P: بوده‌اند
613 M: – از بیم دزد و
614 P: – از بیم
615 N^2: نشاید
616 NPN^{2}M: + که
617 N^2: بوده است
618 NP: کوسفندان
619 N^2: دیکر
620 M: در
621 N^2: بدین
622 NN^{2}M: – به رنج
623 M: در همه‌ی موارد، «عذاب» را «عزاب» نوشته است.

تقصیری باشد. از دزد و گُرگ و راه‌دار و[٥٨٢] سرما و گرما نگاه داشته‌اند[٥٨٣]. و شیر و روغن ایشان را به درویشان و ارزانیان بهره‌مند کرده‌اند. و چندانک توانستند کوشیدن، کوشیده‌اند تا راستی به جای آورده‌اند و[٥٨٤] با مردمان[٥٨٥] خیانت کم کرده‌اند. و هر غریبی که در بیابان با ایشان[٥٨٦] رسیدی، عزّت داشته‌اند و خورشنشان[٥٨٧] داده‌اند. اکنون روان ایشان در این راحت و آسانی رسیده است که تو می‌بینی. ولیکن ای ویراف، تو را[٥٨٨] اندرز می‌کنم. تو این سخن باید که[٥٨٩] مردمان را[٥٩٠] بگویی که در[٥٩١] هر دو جهان، تن‌آسان[٥٩٢] نشاید بودن[٥٩٣]. و آن جهان جایگاه *مزدوران است، تا رنج نبرند و کار[٥٩٤]*[٥٩٥] تمام نکنند، در این جهان بدین[٥٩٦] راحت نتوانند[٥٩٧] [144a] رسیدن. و مُزد آن‌گاه شاید خواستن، که کار تمام به‌کنند. چون کار نکنند و رنج نبرند،[٥٩٨] طمع مزد نباید داشتن. پس طمع چون[٥٩٩] باشد؟ تو در خویشتن اندیشه کن که اگر یک تن، پنجاه[٦٠٠] سال که جانش در راحت و آسانی باشد، پس اگر روزی او را رنج[٦٠١] پیش آید، یا[٦٠٢] [از] بیدادگران یا از خویش، او را آن راحت پنجاه ساله

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581 N²: نکذاشتند
582 N²: + از   M: + از دزد و کرک و دزد و راه‌دار و
583 N²: داشتند
584 NPM: – و
585 P: بمردمان
586 P: بایشان
587 N²: خورشنی‌شان
588 N: – را N²: ترا
589 PN²: + به
590 NPN²: – را
591 M: – در
592 NPN²: تر آسان   M: تن‌آسانی
593 N: بودند
594 PN²: کام. بر پایه‌ی دنباله‌ی جمله، تصحیح قیاسی شد
595 N: بین دو ستاره، پاک شده، یا شاید در میکروفیلم نیامده است. از N² نقل شد.
596 N: – بدین
597 P: نتواند
598 NPM: + و
599 NPN²: – چون
600 N²: + و
601 P: رنج او را
602 N: یا

چون[۵۶۳] من آن قوم را دیدم، اسفندارمد امشاسفند را نماز بردم و[۵۶۴] گفتم: «[۵۶۵] خُنک آن کس که تو را[۵۶۶] نگه دارد و تو نگهدار او باشی، تا تو او را بدین تخت‌ها ارزانی داری.»

[در بیست و سیّوم]

رسیدن به مقام شبانان[۵۶۷]

پس از آن جا درگذشتیم. قومی[۵۶۸] دیگر را دیدم که تخت‌ها نهاده بود و جامه‌های ملوک بر آن‌جا گسترده بود. پنداشتمی *که آن جایگاه‌ها و همه کوشک‌ها و خانه‌ها، خانه خانه،[۵۶۹] و هر خانه‌ای از رنگی و جنسی دیگر کرده‌اند. یکی از یاقوت و یکی از مروارید و یکی از زبرجد و یکی از الماس و یکی از بلور. و هر خانه‌ای[۵۷۰] تختی نهاده بودند، و قوم قوم، جدا جدا، بر آن تخت‌ها نشسته بودند،[۵۷۱] و چون با کام خویش و مراد خویش. و[۵۷۲] هر یک را اسپی[۵۷۳] به زین زرین و مرصّع، در پیش ایشان ایستاده، و ایشان از تکبُّر، سر در پیش افکنده بودند و [از] نیکی خویش مست شده بودند. و من چون آن قوم را[۵۷۴] دیدم، بر آن حُرمت و حشمت عجب بماندم. و آن تکبُّرِ ایشان مرا*[۵۷۵] طرفه[۵۷۶] آمد[۵۷۷]. از سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند پرسیدم که: «این چه قوم‌اند با این[۵۷۸] کرشمه و تکبُّر؟»[۵۷۹] سروش اشو گفت: «این آن کسانند که در آن جهان شبانی کرده‌اند، و گوسپند[۵۸۰] داشته‌اند، و نگذاشته‌اند[۵۸۱] که ایشان را از آب و علف،

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563 P: جو
564 NPN^2: – و
565 NPM: + و N^2: + که
566 NPMO: – را
567 NPN^2MO: – رسیدن به مقام شبانان
568 M: قوم
569 N^2: – خانه
570 N^2: خانه
571 N: بودن   P: نشسته‌اند بود
572 P: – و
573 N^2L: اسپی
574 NP: – را
575 M: بین دو ستاره را ندارد.
576 NPMO: طوفه. شاید «طورفه» باشد که شکل قدیمِ «طرفه» است؟
577 NPM: – آمد
578 N: آین
579 NPM: + و
580 NP: کوسفند

[در بیست و دویُم]

رسیدن به مقام و دیدن برزیگران[545]

پس از آن‌جا درگذشتیم و به جایگاهی دیگر فراز رسیدیم. زمین‌ها دیدم هزار سبزه[546] و خرّم‌تر از آن، زمین و شاهسفرم‌هایی که بوی مُشک و عنبر و کافور از آن درختان می‌آمد. و درختان تُرنج و نارنج و نیمول و سَمَن و دیگر میوه‌های گوناگون. و زنان را دیدم، همه با[547] جامه‌های مُنقّش[548] رنگین[549]، و تاج‌های زرین بر سر نهاده، و پیش آن قوم به پای ایستاده بودند. و گِرد بر گِردِ ایشان مطربان ایستاده. من ایشان را بدیدم[550]، عجب بماندم و گفتم: «[551] هر قوم را که می‌بینم، از قومی دیگر نیکوتر و خرّم‌تر.» از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این چه قوم‌اند به این بزرگواری و ناز و نعمت؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این قوم برزیگران بوده‌اند که در آن جهان کِشت و[552] ورز کرده‌اند، و جهان آبادان داشته‌اند[553]، و دار و درخت نشانده‌اند[554]، و غلّه و جو کِشته‌اند. اکنون بر آن که کِشته‌اند، بر این جا عوض باز داده‌اند. و زنان که پیش ایشان ایستاده‌اند، مینوی[555] زمین‌اند و زمین را آبادان کرده‌اند. و[556] دادار اورمزد[557]، زمین به اسفندارمد امشاسفند سپارده[558] است. و چون[559] زمین آبادان داشته-اند[560]، و راستی به جایگاه آورده‌اند، و خیانت نکرده‌اند، لاجرم امشاسفند اسفندارمد ایشان را بر این نیکویی ارزانی[561] داشته‌اند[562] که تو می‌بینی.»

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545 NPN²MO: – رسیدن به مقام و دیدن برزیگران
546 NO: سبز
547 P: – با
548 M: + و
549 NN²O: نکین
550 N²M: دیدم
551 NM: + و
552 P: – و
553 N²: داشتند
554 NPN²: نشانده
555 NPMO: مینو
556 N²: که
557 NN²MO: هورمزد
558 PN²: سپرده
559 M: جو
560 M: داشته
561 NN²: ارزانیان
562 N²: داشته است

اکنون بدین راحت و آسانی رسیده‌اند که تو می‌بینی.» مرا آن روان‌ها سخت نیکو به چشم آمد از بهرِ تن‌آسانی او.

[در بیست و یکم]

رسیدن به مقام کسانی که خرفستر کُشته‌اند[۵۳۱]

پس چون از ایشان درگذشتیم[۵۳۲]، قومی دیگر را دیدم[۵۳۳] که بر جایگاه خویش نشسته بودند.[۵۳۴] و باغ‌ها وبوستان‌ها بود و درختان میوه‌دار و مرغان خوش-آواز، و جوی‌ها دیدم که آب در وی روان شده. به جای ریگ و سنگ، در آن جوی‌ها یاقوت و مروارید بود. و ماهیان زرین و سیمین در آن جوی‌ها[۵۳۵] باز می‌گردیدند. و مطربان بر کنار جوی‌ها ایستاده بودند و آوازهای مرغان ساخته و نواهای برکشیده. و قومی دیگر، در پیش ایشان، دست‌بند[۵۳۶] گرفته و رقاصی می‌کردند. از سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند[۵۳۷] پرسیدم که: «این چه قوم‌اند که[۵۳۸] این همه آسانی و آهوناکی[۵۳۹] و طربناکی ایزد تعالی به ایشان داده است؟»[۵۴۰] گفتند که: «این آن قوم‌اند که در آن جهان خرفستر و حشرات[۵۴۱] و ددانِ بسیار[۵۴۲] کُشته‌اند. پیوسته به کُشتن خرفستر تخشا بوده-اند. اکنون بدین درجه[۵۴۳] رسیده‌اند که تو می‌بینی.» من چون ایشان را دیدم که آن خرّمی‌ها می‌کردند، گفتم که: «پیوسته به خرفسترکُشتن مشغول بُوَم تا روان من بر این [143b] گاه‌پایه رسد و بزرگوار بُوَد[۵۴۴].»

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[531] NPN²MO: – رسیدن به مقام کسانی که خرفستر کشته‌اند

[532] PN²: درگذشتم

[533] P: دیدیم

[534] M: بوده‌ند

[535] N: از این پس، این چند واژه آمده است: «دیدم که آب در وی»، اما بعد روی آن‌ها خط کشیده شده است.

[536] L: دربند

[537] P: – امشاسفند

[538] N²: – که

[539] N²: هولناکی

[540] NP: + و

[541] M: حشارات

[542] NPN²: سیاه

[543] NM: + و

[544] NPO: بوده‌اند تا روانشان برین گاه پایه رسید و بزرکواری M: بوده‌اند تا روانشان برین گاه و پایه رسیده‌اند و بزرکواری

آبان[۵۱۴] یَشته‌اند[۵۱۵]. و گیتی خرید و زنده روان [و] مانندهٔ این فرموده‌اند. همه به دست خویش یزشن کرده‌اند و هیربدان بوده‌اند [که][۵۱۶] امشاسفندان را یَشته‌اند و بشناخته‌اند. و اکنون امشاسفندان پیش ایشان نشسته‌اند و دل ایشان را باز می‌دهند، و چنین گرامی می‌دارند که تو می‌بینی. و روز به روز این روان‌های[۵۱۷] این قوم روشن‌تر و پاکیزه‌تر و بزرگوارتر باشند. و هرچه مردم کار و کرفه کنند، ایشان همازور باشند.»

[در بیستم]

رسیدن به مقام پهلوانان[۵۱۸]

چون از آن‌جا درگذشتم، قومی را دیدم با فرّ[۵۱۹] و شکوه. و[۵۲۰] روشنی از روی ایشان می‌تافت، و[۵۲۱] سهم و سیاستی از ایشان می‌آمد. همه جامه‌های اسپاهانه[۵۲۲] پوشیده داشتند[۵۲۳]، همه زربافت[۵۲۴] و سیم‌بافت. و سلاح‌های زرین و سیمین در پیش ایشان نهاده بود[۵۲۵]، و ایشان با یکدیگر سلاح‌بازی می‌کردند[۵۲۶]. و خنده‌زنان و سخت نشاط[۵۲۷] با هیبت به چشم من آمدند. از سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند پرسیدم که: «این چه قوم‌اند با این فرّ و شکوه؟» گفتند: «این آن کسانند که ایران‌شهر را[۵۲۸] از دشمنان نگاه داشته‌اند که دشمنی[۵۲۹] بر ایشان مضرّت رسانَد[۵۳۰]. و پیوسته تن در رنج داشته‌اند.

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514 M: آیام
515 P: یشته
516 NPN²: + اکنون M: + اکنو
517 M: روانها
518 NPN²MO: – رسیدن به مقام پهلوانان
519 M: فره
520 NN²: – و
521 NPN²: + از
522 N²: پادشاهانه M: سپاهیانه
523 P: + و میکردند
524 N²: زربفت
525 N²: بودند M: بوده
526 P: – می‌کردند
527 M: نشاطه
528 NP: + و
529 N²: دشمن
530 N²: رسانند

شادمانند، از آن که همه گناه‌هایِ[497] خویشتن را نگاه داشته‌اند.» و چون من بدیدم از آن نیکوییِ ایشان، [498]سخت خرّم شدم. و دعایی دادم و از آن‌جا درگذشتیم[499].

[در نوزدهم]

رسیدن اردا به مقام مردمی که یزشن فرموده‌اند[500]

سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند دست من گرفتند و هر جایگاهی می‌بردند. جایگاهی فراز [143a] رسیدیم. چون نگاه کردم، روان‌هایی[501] دیدم که بر آسمان، بر بالاتر بالاتر بهشت، بر بالای همه کس نشسته بودند، و همه امشاسفندان پیش ایشان نشسته بودند.[502] جایگاه ایشان چنان[503] دیدم که ریحان‌ها [و] شاهسفرم‌ها گوناگون رُسته بودند. و جامه‌های زرین و سیمین و ابریشمین افکنده بودند[504]. و آب‌های[505] روان و مرغان خوش‌آواز دیدم. و[506] ایشان در میان آن ناز و نعمت‌ها نشسته بودند. و روغنِ میدیوزرم در پیش ایشان نهاده بود[507]، و ایشان[508] نشاط[509] و طرب می‌کردند. من[510] از[511] سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این چه قوم‌اند با این همه نشاط[512] و طرب؟» سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند[513] گفتند که: «این روان آن کسانند که ایشان در آن جهان یزشن‌ها فرموده‌اند. و چون همادین و دوازده هماست

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497 N: کناهها

498 N²: + بس من

499 PN²M: درگذشتم

500 NPN²MO: – رسیدن اردا به مقام مردمی که یزشن فرموده‌اند

501 NPN²: روانها

502 M: + و

503 P: حاجنان

504 N²: بود

505 M: آبها

506 M: – و

507 N²: بود

508 NPM: + و N²: + در

509 M: نشاطه

510 NPN²MO: – میکردند من

511 NM: – از

512 M: نشاطه

513 NN²: – امشاسفند

زنان، در بهشت خرامان می‌رفتند. چون من آن زنان را[٤٧٩] دیدم بدان نیکی، یک از دیگر[٤٨٠] بهتر، و من به جانبی[٤٨١]* می‌کردند. و[٤٨٢] با آن زر و سیم و جواهر، و بازی و[٤٨٣] طرب که ایشان با یکدیگر[٤٨٤] می‌کردند، و دست به گردنِ یکدیگر[٤٨٥] به‌کرده[٤٨٦] بودند، و طرب و نشاط که با هم می‌کردند[٤٨٧]، بیم از آن بود که عقل و هوش از من برود. از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این زنان کیستند که ایزد تعالی این همه نیکی به ایشان ارزانی داشته است؟» سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند گفتند که: «این روان آن زنانند که در آن جهان طاعتِ شوهران داشته‌اند، و از فرمانِ شوهران خویشتن بیرون نیامده‌اند، و دلِ شوهران خویش[٤٨٨] داشته‌اند، و بسترِ شوهر خویش به‌نبُریده‌اند، و بر سرِ شوهر خویش کسی نگزیده‌اند. و چندانک[٤٨٩] توانسته‌اند،[٤٩٠] آب و آتش نیکو داشته‌اند. و یَشت و یَزشن که ایشان را در گردن بوده است، فریضه آن را کرده‌اند[٤٩١]، چون دشتان گناه و ترسِ استودان، و دوازده هماست آبان[٤٩٢] یَشته‌اند. و با شوهران، آنچ[٤٩٣] خدای داده بود، خورسند بوده‌اند[٤٩٤]. و کدبانویی کرده‌اند. و دودلی و دوکیسه‌ای[٤٩٥] نکرده‌اند. و شوهران از ایشان خشنود بوده‌اند[٤٩٦]. و اکنون روان‌های ایشان چنین شادمانند و پاکیزه، که تو می‌بینی. و هرچه ایشان را می‌باید، ایزد تعالی بداده است، تا لاجرم، چنین

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[479] $N^{\times}$: – را
[480] P: یک از یکدیکر
[481] $N^{\times}PM$: بجایی   O: بجای.
[482] N^2: که
[483] M: – و
[484] M: یکدکر
[485] M: یکدکر
[486] P: بکرده N^2: میداشتند
[487] N^2: که با هم‌ایشان بود
[488] N^2: + بخوشی
[489] M: جندانکه
[490] P: + و
[491] P: کرده
[492] M: آیام‌ن
[493] NPN^2: آنجه
[494] N^2: بودند
[495] N: دو کیسهٔ PN^2M: دو کیسه
[496] N^2: بودند

بوده‌ام[٤٥٦] تا دادار اورمزد به[٤٥٧] ایشان[٤٥٨] این همه کرامت کرده[٤٥٩] است، و ایشان را بدین بزرگواری[٤٦٠] و[٤٦١] بلندی و روشنی، جایگاه داده است. هر داوری و دستوری که در آن جهان داوری راست[٤٦٢] کند، و شرط[٤٦٣] شفقت و مهربانی به جایگاه[٤٦٤] آوَرَد،[٤٦٥] شفاعت‌خواه و پای‌مُزدِ[٤٦٦] وی من باشم. و هر دستوری که داوری به میل و[٤٦٧] رشوت[٤٦٨] کند، در این جهان خصمش من باشم. و[٤٦٩] ایزد ایشان را به من سپرده است.» من نماز بردم و از آن جایگاه[٤٧٠] درگذشتم[٤٧١].

[در هجدهم]

دیدن مقام زنانی که فرمان شوهر برده‌اند[٤٧٢]

[٤٧٣]به جایگاهی رسیدم و روان‌هایی دیدم از زنان، همه جامه‌های زربفت، که همه حُلّه پُر[٤٧٤] از مروارید و یاقوت و گوهرهای[٤٧٥] گرانمایه بود. و[٤٧٦] هر یک تاجی[٤٧٧] مُرصّع بر سر نهاده بودند. و فرجی‌ها و[٤٧٨] سمورِ پُر از جواهر و مروارید، به خویشتن فراز گرفته بودند. و کرشمه‌کنان و بازی‌کنان و خنده-

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456 M: بوده‌اند
457 P: با
458 P: + که
459 N²: کرفته
460 N×: بزرکواری
461 N×PN²: – و
462 P: + و ایشانرا
463 NN²: + و
464 N²: بجا
465 NP: + و
466 N×: شفاعت و خواه و پای و مزد
467 N²: – و
468 P: رشوب
469 N²: که
470 PN²M: آنجا
471 N×: من نماز برده‌ام و از آن جا درکذشتم
472 NPN²MO: – دیدن مقام زنانی که فرمان شوهران برده‌اند
473 N²: + و
474 N²: بود
475 N×: + و
476 NN²M: – و
477 P: تاج
478 N: – و

«خُنکا[٤٣٧] آن پادشاه که او عادل بود[٤٣٨]،[٤٣٩] تا روانش بدین ارجمندی و بزرگیِ مرتبت و منزلت رسند[٤٤٠].»

[در هفدهم]

صفت مقام دستوران و موبدان[٤٤١]

چون از آن‌جا درگذشتم، به جایگاهی[٤٤٢] فراز رسیدم، همه نشستگان دیدم، هر یک در چهار بالش، و امشاسفندان [142b] هر ساعت[٤٤٣] بر ایشان نثار می‌کردند. و خُوَرّه و وَرج از ایشان می‌تابید. و سروش اشو چون نزدیک ایشان رسید،[٤٤٤] ایشان را همه بر پای بودند. و سروش اشو ایشان را بنواخت، و گرامی کرد و گفت: «هیچ آرزو هست که باز ننمانده[٤٤٥] آید؟[٤٤٦] بگوئید[٤٤٧] تا من از اورمزد درخواهم، تا آن آرزوها به شما دهد.» ایشان سجده کردندی و گفتندی[٤٤٨]: «هرچه ما را می‌باید، همه هست، و پیوسته در میان ناز و نعمت و آسانی‌ایم، و همه از خُوَرّه و وَرج تو است.» *پس من از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این چه قوم‌اند، و این وَرج و[٤٤٩] خُوَرّه، که پنداری هر یک امشاسفندی‌اند[٤٥٠] بر گاه خویش، با هیبت و باشکوه[٤٥١]؟» و[٤٥٢] سروش اشو گفت که: «این روان دستوران و[٤٥٣] موبدان و رَدان و داوران‌اند[٤٥٤]، و[٤٥٥] [من] شفیع ایشان

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437 N²: خنک

438 N²: بوده‌اند

439 NPN²M: + و

440 N²: رسیدند

441 NPN²MO: – صفت مقام دستوران و موبدان

442 N²: و بجایکاه

443 N²: – هر ساعت

444 NPN²M: + و

445 N²M: نمانده

446 M: + و

447 M: بکویند

448 N²: کردند و کفتند P: کردندی و کفتند

449 M: – و

450 Nˣ: امشاسفندیی‌اند

451 NN²: شکوه

452 NˣN²M: – و

453 Nˣ: – و

454 NPM: داوران

455 Nˣ: – و

ایشان را رفتن حاجت نبودی[٤٢٥]، پای اندر هوا می‌رفتند. سر[٤٢٦] تا پای ایشان پُر از مروارید و جواهر بود، و سهمی و سیاستی از آن‌جا می‌آمد. و از خُوَرِّه-اومندی[٤٢٧] و ارجمندی ایشان عجب بماندم. از سروش اشو پرسیدم: «این چه قوم‌اند، که از هیبت و سیاست، مرا بیمی در دل افتاد؟» سروش اشو گفت که: «این روانِ پادشاهانی‌اند که ایشان عادل و دادِه بوده‌اند.[٤٢٨] از آن سبب کی[٤٢٩] در آن جهان[٤٣٠] فرمانشان روا بود بر همه کس،[٤٣١] و هم در این جهان پادشاه بهشتند. و هر جایگاهی که ایشان را مراد است، می‌آیند و می‌روند و از روان ایشان هیچ بِه نیست. چه، تا ایشان که در آن[٤٣٢] جهان دربوده‌اند[٤٣٣]، همه روزه[٤٣٤] عادل بودند و بیداد و ظلم از مردمان باز داشتند. و هر کرفه که در هفت کشور[٤٣٥] زمین کرده‌اند، ایشان هم‌نصیب و هم‌بهره بوده-اند. لاجرم، روان ایشان بدین[٤٣٦] ارجمندی و نیکویی است که تو می‌بینی.» و به چشم من سخت نیکو و باشکوه و باهیبت آمدند. و ایشان را نماز بردم و گفتم:

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422 M: – که
423 M: – و
424 N²: فرشتکان
425 P: نبود
426 N²: بسر
427 NPMOL: خورهومندی PN²: خوره‌مندی
428 NN²OL: دربوده‌اند
429 M: که
430 M: درنجهان
431 NN²M: + و
432 M: – آن
433 M: – در
434 PN²: روز
435 M: کیشور
436 N²: بدان

[در پانزدهم]

صفت دیدن روان‌هایی که نوزودی کرده‌اند[٤٠٨]

پس چون از آن‌جا درگذشتم[٤٠٩]، در زیر ایشان قومی دیدم دیگر، که جامه‌ها از نور پوشیده رنگ رنگ، که هرگز[٤١٠] من در جهان بدان نیکویی جامه ندیدم. و همه بر گاهِ خویش، چون ماه و خورشید می‌تافتند، و همه با یکدیگر خرّمی می‌کردند. از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این چه قوم‌اند؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این مردمانی‌اند[٤١١] که در آن جهان نوزودی کرده‌اند، و آب و آتش به‌یَشته‌اند،[٤١٢] و گاه و جای خویش[٤١٣] به دست آورده‌اند. اکنون چون به گاه خویش رسیده‌اند، بدین سان شادمانند.» چون[٤١٤] ایشان را دیدم از خوشیِ آن جایگاه که نشاط می‌کردند، خواستم که نزدیک ایشان بایستم. سروش اشو گفت: «ترا وقت آن[٤١٥] نیست که به این‌جا باز ایستی، که بسیار کس گوش به تو می‌دارند، و ترا باز به[٤١٦] آن جهان می‌باید شدن، و آگاهی باز به ایشان بردن، تا ایشان بر دینِ بِهِ مازدیسنان، و[٤١٧] بی‌گمان باشند.»

[در شانزدهم]

صفت دیدن مقام پادشاهان[٤١٨]

چون از آن‌جا[٤١٩] درگذشتم[٤٢٠]، قومی دیدم جامه‌های نو پوشیده، و[٤٢١] هر جایگاهی که[٤٢٢] خواستندی، آمدندی و[٤٢٣] شدندی هم‌چون فریشتگان[٤٢٤]، که

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408 NPN^{2}MO: – صفت دیدن روان‌هایی که نوزودی کرده‌اند

409 PM: کذشتم

410 P: – هرکز

411 N^2: آن مردمانند

412 M: یشته‌اند

413 M: + «رسیدها». شاید «رسیده‌اند» باشد. در میکروفیلم خوانا نیست.

414 P: چو

415 P: ترا آن وقت

416 N^2: – به

417 N^2: – و

418 NPN^{2}MO: – صفت دیدن مقام پادشاهان

419 N^2: اینجا

420 P: درکذشتیم

421 PN^{2}M: – و

پادافراه[۳۹۵] گناه‌کاران بدو نمایند[۳۹۶]. و پس ایشان دست من گرفتند و هر جایگاهی می‌بردند.

[در چهاردهم]

صفت دیدن روان رادان و سخاوتان[۳۹۷]

[۳۹۸] اوّل جایگاهی فراز رسیدم، روان‌هایی[۳۹۹] دیدم همه با جامه‌ها و لباس‌های زربافت[٤٠٠] و سیم‌بافت، همه بر تخت‌ها نشسته و تاج‌ها بر سر نهاده [142a] و نور از روی ایشان، روشنایی به دورجائی[٤٠١] می‌افکند.[٤٠٢] همه خندان و بازی‌کنان و شادان بودند. چون ایشان را[٤٠٣] دیدم، سخت خرّم شدم، و عجب بماندم از طربِ نشاطِ ایشان. و[٤٠٤] از سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند پرسیدم که: «این کدام مردمان‌اند؟» ایشان گفتند: «این روانِ رادان‌اند که در آن جهان با خویشان و ارزانیان نیکی کرده‌اند. وچیزی که ایشان را بود، از نیکان و پرهیزکاران دریغ نداشته‌اند. و[٤٠٥] پیوسته مهمانی کرده‌اند. و مسکینان و یتیمان را جامه داده‌اند، و گرسنگان را[٤٠٦] سیر کرده‌اند. اکنون، لاجرم، روان‌های ایشان بدین[٤٠٧] بزرگواری و بلند و نیکویی و روشنی است که تو می‌بینی.»

مرا آن روان‌ها سخت نیکو به چشم آمد و گفتم: «کاشکی روان من بدین جایگاه رسیدی.»

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393 N²: کیرید

394 N²: جایکاهی

395 P: باده‌فراه

396 N²: هم این‌جا و هم جمله‌ی پیش از این: نمائید

397 NPN²MO: – صفت دیدن روان رادان و سخاوتان

398 P: + و

399 M: رونها

400 N: زربافته

401 N²: + سایه

402 M: افکند

403 N²M: – را

404 N²: – و

405 M: – و

406 N: – را

407 M: به این

از یک سال[۳۷۹] بنهند، دیگرباره نم گیرد و تَر شود. و[۳۸۰] تو این سخن باید که با مردمان بگویی.»

[در سیزدهم]

صفت دیدن گروثمان و جای اورمزد[۳۸۱]

پس سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند دست من گرفتند و مرا به گروثمان بردند. چون آن جایگاه دیدم، متحیّر و عاجز بماندم. چنان[۳۸۲] پنداشتم که از یاقوت کرده‌اند. به روشنیِ خورشید می‌ماند، بلک روشن‌تر و نیکوتر از روشنیِ خورشید و[۳۸۳] ماه بود. چنان پنداشتمی[۳۸٤] که آن روشنایی بر آن سوی تافته[۳۸۵] است و روشنی از آن سوی می‌دهد. و از سروش اشو پرسیدم که:[۳۸٦] «این چه جایگاه است و از کدام گوهر است؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این گوهر، الماس است،[۳۸۷] پاکیزه و آویچه[۳۸۸] کرده.» چون پاره‌ای دیگر برفتم، روشنایی بیشتر و تابنده‌تر، و چندان که نگاه می‌کردم، هیچ چیز نمی‌دیدم از روشنی. آوازی شنیدمی[۳۸۹] که گفتندی: «درست آمدی ای اردای‌ویراف، از آن جهان پتیاره اومندِ رنجور،[۳۹۰] بر[۳۹۱] این جهان پاکیزه.»

و سروش اشو و اردیبهشت امشاسفند را گفتندی[۳۹۲] که دست ویراف گیرند[۳۹۳] و جایگاه[۳۹٤] اشوان و دروَندان بدو نمایند، و پاداشنِ کرفه و

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378 N^2: بین دو ستاره، بدین صورت آمده است: «بدان که هیزم هفت ساله از ان تر باشد که از ان یک ساله»

379 N^2: یکساله

380 NN^2M: – و

381 NPN^2MO: – صفت دیدن گروثمان و جای اورمزد

382 M: جنا

383 NN^2: – و

384 P: بنداشتم

385 NN^2: یافته. تصحیح قیاسی شد

386 N^2: – که

387 M: + و

388 N^2: آویژه   P: آیژه

389 N^2M: شنیدم

390 N: + این جها. اما بعد روی آن خط کشیده شده است.

391 N^2: در

392 N^2: کفتند

[در دوازدهم]

صفت اردیبهشت امشاسفند[٣٦٢]

و[٣٦٣] پس، چون نگاه کردمی[٣٦٤]، اردیبهشت[٣٦٥] امشاسفند را دیدمی که نزدیک من می‌آمدی. و من جهد کردمی تا بر وی سلام کنم. او پیشتر بر من سلام کردی[٣٦٦] و گفتی: «درست آمدی ای اردای‌ویراف[٣٦٧]، اگر چه هنوز وقت آمدن تو نبود. و من اندک‌مایه از تو آزرده‌ام، از بهر آنکه هیزمِ تَر بر آتش نهاده‌ای. و آتش را ایزد تعالی به من سپرده است. و هر چه بدان جهان بدی‌ها با وی کنند[٣٦٨]،[٣٦٩] من به این جهان از آن کس بیازارم.» چون من از اردیبهشت امشاسفند این سخن شنیدم،[٣٧٠] گفتم: «امشاسفندان کم و بیش نگویند. من به درستی می‌دانم که هرگز هیزمِ تَر بر آتش ننهاده‌ام، و پیوسته آنچ[٣٧١] بر آتش نهادم، هیمهٔ هفت ساله بوده است. اکنون تو[٣٧٢] مرا می‌گویی که هیزمِ تَر بر آتش نهاده‌ای. ندانم این چه‌گونه است[٣٧٣].» چون این سخن بشنید، دست من گرفت و گفت: «بیا که هیزم هفت ساله[٣٧٤] که در آتش نهاده‌ای به تو نمایم.» ومن با او برفتم. گردابی دیدم بسیار آب در آن‌جا ایستاده. گفت: «این آن است که از هیزم هفت ساله[٣٧٥] بیامده است که تو بر آتش نهاده‌ای. *بدانک[٣٧٦] هیزم یک ساله بسیار خشک‌تر باشد که از آن هفت ساله[٣٧٧]*.[٣٧٨] چه هرگاه که بیش

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361 M: کاه پایه
362 NPN²MO: – صفت اردیبهشت امشاسفند
363 P: – و
364 P: میکردمی
365 NM: «اردیبهشت» با مرکب رنگی نوشته شده است.
366 N²: کرد
367 N²: ویراف
368 P: کند
369 N²: + و
370 P: + و
371 PN²: آنچه
372 P: – تو
373 P: هست
374 NPM: عامه
375 NPN²M: عامه
376 M: بدانکه
377 NPM: عامه

سروش اشو گفت مرا: «نمازها گاهِ اورمزد بر[۳۴۵]!» من به خورد[۳۴۶] و توانایی خویش، نماز کردم. و هوش و عقل از من برفته بود، از هیبت و روشنایی آن جایگاه.

[در یازدهم]

صفت روغن میدیوزرم خوردن[۳۴۷]

پس آوازی شنیدم که گفتندی: «بسیار رنجَش منمائید، که خود آشفته و[۳۴۸] رنجور است، که از آن جهان بیامده است [141b] و بسیار[۳۴۹] رنج بدین راه بدو رسیده است، و بسیار بیم برده است. لیکن[۳۵۰] خورشنش دهید!» چون نگاه کردمی، جامی آوردندی[۳۵۱] و قدری روغن در آن جام[۳۵۲] کرده و گفتندی: «این روغن میدیوزرم[۳۵۳] خوانند.» چون باز خوردمی، طعامی دیدمی[۳۵۴] که هرگز من بدان خوشی[۳۵۵] هیچ چیز در این جهان نخورده‌ام. و هنوز طعم[۳۵۶] و لذّت آن در دهن[۳۵۷] مانده است. و دانم که تا زنده باشم، آن خوشی از کام من به‌نشود. و گفتند: «هر کس که بهشتی باشد، بدان نیک[۳۵۸] منشنه و نیک گُوِشنه و نیک کونِشنِه[۳۵۹] بوده باشد، او را این جایگاه بُوَد، و اوّل چیزی، این خورشنش دهند. و زنان را نیز، که ترسکار و طاعت‌دارِ شوهر و دین‌دوست بُوَد، هم‌چنین خورشن‌شان[۳۶۰] دهند و بدین گاه و پایه[۳۶۱] نشانند.»

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[344] M: نمی‌توانستند

[345] N: نمازها گاه اورمزد بره O: نمازه کاه اومزد یزه L: نمازها عرش کاه اورمزد بر

[346] NP: و خود N²: بخورد M: و خور

[347] NPN²MO: – صفت روغن میدیوزرم خوردن

[348] M: – و

[349] N²: بسا M: بسیا

[350] N²: ولیکن

[351] N²: چون نکاه کردم جامی بیش من آوردند

[352] M: آنجا

[353] N: مینیوزرم PN²: مینوزرم M: مییوزرم

[354] N²: چون باز خوردم طعامی دیدم

[355] N²: خورشنی

[356] P: طعام

[357] M: دهند

[358] P: نیکو

[359] M: کنشنه

[360] N²: خورشن

باز مانده‌اند که گاهان نخوانده‌اند و یشت نکرده‌اند[۳۲۷]. روان این قوم، به روشنی هم‌چو ماه است، و به راحت[۳۲۸] و به خوشی و معیشت مشغول‌اند.»

[در نُهم]

صفت دیدن خورشیدپایه[۳۲۹]

پس از آن جایگاه، من با[۳۳۰] سروش اشو[۳۳۱] برفتم، و جایگاهی دیدم که از روشنی، آن جایگاه چشم من خیره می‌گردانید[۳۳۲]. و مردمانی دیدم که آن‌جا نشسته بودند،[۳۳۳] هر یک بر تختی زرّین[۳۳۴]. پرسیدم که: «آن چه جایگاه است، و این چه قوم‌اند، که هر یک پنداری که پادشاهی‌اند به این خانه‌ها و این گاه‌ها و[۳۳۵] تجمّل‌ها؟» سروش اشو گفت که: «این خورشیدپایه است. و این مردمانی‌اند که[۳۳۶] در گیتی گناه کم‌مایه کرده‌اند[۳۳۷]، و جز از نوزودی[۳۳۸]، بسیار کرفه‌ها کرده‌اند، و روان خویشتن بدین سان پاکیزه گردانیده‌اند. و با این همه نیکی،[۳۳۹] ارزانی شده‌اند.»

[در دهم]

صفت دیدن نمازگاه[۳۴۰]

پس دیگر باره[۳۴۱] سروش اشو مرا بر بالاتر بردی. و نگاه کردمی،[۳۴۲] همه جایگاه، روشن دیدمی. چنانک از روشنی هیچ چیز[۳۴۳] نمی‌توانستم[۳۴۴] دیدن.

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327 P: + و

328 N²: برافت

329 NPN²MO: – صفت دیدن خورشیدپایه

330 P: – با

331 N: بسروش اشو

332 P: میکردید M: می‌کرداتید

333 P: + و

334 P: + و

335 N²: + این

336 N²: – که

337 NN²: + جز زودی

338 M: و جز نوزودی کرده او جز نوزودی

339 NPN²M: + و

340 NPN²MO: – صفت دیدن نمازگاه

341 M: – دیکرباره

342 P: + و

343 M: هیجز

ایستادن، و سرما و گرما بر ایشان تأثیرها کند. و اگر[۳۱۵] نه، هیچ رنجی دیگرشان نیست.»

[در هفتم]

صفت دیدن سترپایه[۳۱۶]

و از آن‌جا مرا باز به سترپایه آورد. روان‌هایی[۳۱۷] دیدم مانند ستاره روشنایی می‌دادند. از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این چه جایگاه است، و این چه مردمان‌اند، و چرا این‌جا باز داشته‌اند؟» پس سروش اشو گفت که: «این آن روان‌های[۳۱۸] آن کسانند که نوزود نبوده‌اند، و گیتی‌خرید نَه‌یَشته‌اند، و دست-گاه داشتند، و ایشان را فرمان بود، و جهدشان نبود که بدان مزدها[۳۱۹] بیابند. لیکن[۳۲۰] چون نوزود نبوده‌اند،[۳۲۱] روان‌های ایشان در این‌جا باز بمانده است، و بالاتر از این نمی‌توانند شدن.»

[در هشتم]

صفت دیدن ماه‌پایه[۳۲۲]

پس سروش اشو دست من بگرفت[۳۲۳] و بر ماه‌پایه بُرد. قومی بسیار دیدم که در آن‌جا انبوه شده بود. گفتم: «این[۳۲۴] چه جایگاه است و این چه قوم‌اند؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این بهشت خوانند که به ماه‌پایه معروف است. این قوم نوزودی نکرده‌اند، و اگر نه[۳۲۵] همه کرفه‌های[۳۲۶] دیگر کرده‌اند. از بهر آن این‌جا

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[315] P: وکر

[316] NPN^{2}MO: – صفت دیدن سترپایه   N^{2}: + بهشت سترپایه

[317] P: روانها   M: رونهایی

[318] M: رونها

[319] P: مژدها

[320] M: ولیکن

[321] NPN^{2}M: + و

[322] NPN^{2}MO: – صفت دیدن ماه‌پایه

[323] P: کرفت

[324] NPN^{2}O: – این

[325] N^{2}: وکرنه

[326] NPN^{2}: کرفهاء   M: کرفهای

من نماز بردمی[۲۹۹]. همه روشنائیی دیدمی که چشمم خیره بماندی[۳۰۰].

[در ششم]

صفت دیدن همیستگان[۳۰۱]

پس سروش اشو دست من بگرفتی و باز گردانیدی تا دگر در پیش چینود پول آورد[۳۰۲]. در میان چینود پول قومی را دیدم بسیار گرد آمده و انبوه[۳۰۳] شده. من از سروش اشو پرسیدم که: «این چه قوم‌اند، و این‌جا چرا جمع‌اند، و چه می‌کنند، و چرا ایشان را[۳۰٤] این‌جا باز داشته‌اند؟» سروش اشو گفت: «این‌جا را همیستگان[۳۰۵] خوان، که این قوم این‌جا باشند، و پیوسته بر پای ایستاده باشند، و به‌نتوانند نشستن، تا رستاخیزِ تنِ پسین. و اَبَر این[۳۰٦] مردمانی‌اند[۳۰۷] که ایشان را[۳۰۸] کرفه و گناه هر دو[۳۰۹] یکسان بوده است. و چون با آن جهان رَوی، مردمان را بگوی که، اگرچه کرفه[۳۱۰] اندک مایه باشد[۳۱۱]، جهد کنند تا بکنند. که اگر این قوم را چندانی کرفه، که به سنگِ یک تار موی مژهٔ چشم، کرفه بیشتر از گناه کرده بودندی، روانشان به بهشت رسیده[۳۱۲] بودی، و این‌جا نمانده بودی[۳۱۳]. که تا رستاخیزِ[۳۱٤] تن پسین هم‌چنین بر پای می‌باید

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299 O: بردم و

300 N²: من نماز بردم. همه روشنایی دیدم که چشم من خیره نماندی

301 NPN²MO: – صفت دیدن همستیگان

302 N: به اندازه‌ی یکی دو واژه سفید مانده است. N²: به اندازه‌ی دو– سه واژه سفید مانده است.

303 M: انبو

304 NPN²: + «از». این عبارت، در درِ هفتم، به صورت «چرا این‌جا باز داشته‌اند» آمده است. به همین خاطر، در این‌جا نیز به همانِ صورت تصحیح شد.

305 N: – را همیستگان. به جایش، به اندازه‌ی یکی دو واژه سفید مانده، یا شاید در میکروفیلم نیامده است. P: – را همیستگان O: – را همیستگان. جای دو واژه را خالی گذاشته است. N²: همیستان M: اینجا همستکا. اما در پابرگیِ صفحه‌ی قبل، «همستکان» نوشته شده است. L: همستیکان

306 NPN²O: – این

307 P: مردمی‌اند

308 NP: – را

309 N²: – هر دو

310 P: – کرفه

311 M: «اندک مایه باشد بسنک یک». اما «بسنک یک» خط خورده است.

312 M: رسیدن

313 N²: نماندی

314 NP: + و

گفتی*[277]: «بیا که گاهِ زرّین به تو نمایم که آن را عرش و[278] کرسی خوانند[279].»

[در پنجم]

صفت دیدن بهمن امشاسفند[280]

و مرا[281] بر بالا بردی[282]. و تختی دیدم که[283] وصف[284] نتوانم[285] کردن. و روان آن[286] مرد را دیدم آن‌جا ایستاده و [با] امشاسفندان دست‌بند[287] گرفته. و روان‌های خویشاوندان آن مرد را دیدم، همه خرّمی می‌کردند، هم‌چنانک[288] غریبی که با خانه[289] خویش شود[290] و خویشاوندان او شادی کنند بر آن موجب. پس[291] بهمن امشاسفند[292] دست آن روان بگرفتی[293] و به گاه خویش بردی[294]. و آن روان‌های گذشتگان با وی می‌رفتند، و هم‌چنان[295] شادی می‌کردند تا او به گاه[296] خویش بنشست.

پس سروش [141a] اشو دست من بگرفت و گفتی: «هان[297]، عرش و[298] کرسی. نماز برا!»

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277 N^2: + که   P: بین دو ستاره: بیامد و دست من میکرفت و کفت که

278 N^2: – و

279 NMO: + بتو نمایم   P: که آنرا عرش کرسی بتو نمایم

280 NPN^2MO: – صفت دیدن بهمن امشاسفند

281 NPN^2: من   M: مرا   O: و مرا

282 O: برد

283 M: – که

284 N^2: + او

285 P: نتوانند

286 NPN^2O: – آن

287 L: دست‌بنده

288 NPN^2: همجنانکه

289 P: خانهٔ

290 P: – شود

291 O: من

292 N^2: امشاسفندان

293 P: بکرفت

294 P: برد

295 M: همجنا

296 M: بکا

297 O: ها

298 O: – و

زنان به‌پرسیدندم. و[۲۵۲] به پرسیدن، خوش گفتند[۲۵۳] که*[۲۵۴]: «[۲۵۵]چون رَستی[۲۵۶] از آن جهان پتیاره‌اومند[۲۵۷]، که هیچ راحتِ بی رنج[۲۵۸] در آن جهان نیست؟ همه[۲۵۹] تنگی‌دلی[۲۶۰] و غم و اندوه است، و هیچ خرّمی نباشد که بیش دژمی[۲۶۱] در پسِ او نباشد. تو گویی که چشمه[۲۶۲] اندوه‌هاست و بلای[۲۶۳] اشوان. و این که چون بدین جای آمدی، هیچ غم مدار و دل[۲۶۴] شاد دار، که[۲۶۵] دیگر[۲۶۶] هیچ رنجی به تو[۲۶۷] نرسد، که[۲۶۸] همه[۲۶۹] راحت بینی بی محنت، و همه[۲۷۰] تن‌درستی بینی[۲۷۱] بی آفت. خوش خور[۲۷۲] و شادمان باش، که پیوسته[۲۷۳] این‌جا خوشی و خرّمی[۲۷۴] بُوَد و هیچ بدیئی[۲۷۵] نبُوَد.»

پس چون آن روان‌ها سخن می‌گفتند و مرا امید می‌دادند و دل من خرّم باز می‌کردند[۲۷۶]، پس بهمن امشاسفند را دیدم که *بیامدی و دست من بگرفتی و

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[252] NPO: – و
[253] NP: + و
[254] NO: – که   M: بین دو ستاره: شادی و خنده زبان پرسیدن و کفتند خوش و
[255] O: + و
[256] P: راستی
[257] M: حاشیه‌ی برگ پاره شده، اما اثر دو واژه‌ی «جهان پتیاره» برجا مانده است.
[258] M: رنجی
[259] M: هم
[260] P: تنکدلی   M: ثیکی دل
[261] NN²P: درمی   O: دردی   L: دژمی از پیش یا   M: بیش دژمی
[262] M: جشم
[263] M: + و
[264] M: «غم مدا ل». گوشه‌ی برگ پاره شده است.
[265] NPN²: که   M: و
[266] M: – دیکر
[267] P: بتو هیچ رنجی
[268] NPN²M: که   O: و
[269] M: هم
[270] M: هم
[271] M: – بینی
[272] N²: خوشخور   P: خوش‌خورد   M: خوش خرم
[273] M: پیوست
[274] M: خوش خرمی
[275] N²M: بدی
[276] O: کردند

و[۲۳۰] من گفتم: «سلام و درود بر شما باد. مرا در آن[۲۳۱] جهان، موبدان و دستوران و پاکیزه دینان و شاهان‌شاه[۲۳۲] فرستاده است مرا[۲۳۳]، که تا احوال این جهان معلوم کنم ایشان را.»

چون[۲۳۴] من این سخن بگفتم، روان آن مرد را[۲۳۵] بدیدم که آن‌جا فراز رسید. و پول دیدم که در گردید و بر آن پهلوی[۲۳۶] گردید که[۲۳۷] بیست و هفت[۲۳۸] گز[۲۳۹] پهنایش بود. آن روان، دلیروار بر آن پول دیدم که بگذشت، و[۲۴۰] من[۲۴۱] نیز هم[۲۴۲] در پی او به پول بگذشتم[۲۴۳].

[در چهارم]

صفت دیدن اردای‌ویراف روان‌های اشوان پاکان[۲۴۴]

و[۲۴۵] سروش اشو[۲۴۶] دست من گرفته بود. چون با آن[۲۴۷] جانب پول شدم،[۲۴۸] روشنایی دیدم که چشمم[۲۴۹] بدان روشنایی خیره بماند. چون نگاه کردم، روان‌های گذشتگان دیدم که پیش ما[۲۵۰] باز آمدند و[۲۵۱] *شادی‌کنان و خنده-

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230 M: – و

231 MO: – آن

232 PMO: شاهنشاه

233 M: – مرا. جای این واژه در میکروفیلم خالی و به شکل لکه‌ای کمرنگ است.

234 P: چو

235 N^2MO: – را

236 NPN^2: پهلو

237 O: – که

238 M: بیست هفت

239 N^2: ارش

240 M: – و

241 P: – من

242 O: – هم

243 N^2M: گذشتم

244 NPN^2MO: – صفت دیدن اردای‌ویراف روان‌های اشوان پاکان

245 N^2: – و

246 M: – اشو. حاشیه‌ی برگ پاره شده، شاید «اشو» در همان جای پاره‌شده بوده باشد.

247 N^2: بآن

248 P: + و

249 N^2M: چشم

250 M: – ما

251 NPN^2MO: + از

گردن او بکرد[۲۱۰] با وی می‌خندید.*[۲۱۱] و[۲۱۲] به یک گام، بدان[۲۱۳] نیکی که اندیشیده بود[۲۱٤]، بر سترپایه رفت. و دویم گام، از جهتِ آن نیکی که[۲۱٥] گفته بود، به ماه‌پایه رفت. و[۲۱٦] به سیوم گام، از جهتِ آن نیکی که[۲۱۷] کرده بود، به خورشیدپایه رفت. و پس[۲۱۸] به چهارم گام، به گروثمان[۲۱۹] رفت.

[در سیّوم]

صفت دیدن امشاسفندان[۲۲۰]

و[۲۲۱] پس سروش اشو دست من بگرفتی و به سر[۲۲۲] چینود[۲۲۳] پول بُردَم. چون که[۲۲٤] نگاه کردم، مهرایزد را دیدم آن‌جا ایستاده.[۲۲٥] سروش اشو دست اندر پول زده و ایستاد[۲۲٦]. چون من امشاسفندان را[۲۲۷] دیدم، سلام خواستم کردن ایشان را. ایشان[۲۲۸] نخست بر من سلام کردند و گفتند: «درست آمدی تو ای[۲۲۹] ارداویراف، که هنوز وقت آمدن تو نیست.»

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209 M: آنرا

210 P: کرد

211 N^2: متن بین دو ستاره بدین صورت آمده است: «از سبب نجات بکردن او با وی می‌خندید»

212 NPMO: – و

213 M: بران

214 M: بودند

215 M: – که

216 M: – و

217 M: – که

218 M: – پس

219 NO: گروطامن. پس از این، در متن N، به شکل «گروثمان» نوشته شده است. بر پایه‌ی همان تصحیح شد. M: کروتمان

220 NPN^2MO: – صفت دیدن امشاسفندان

221 P: – و

222 N^2: بر سر

223 P: چنود

224 M: – که

225 M: «ایستادن ده»، اما بعد روی «ن» خط کشیده شده است.

226 MO: ایستاده

227 M: – را

228 M: ایشا

229 NMO: – ای P: – تو ای

کردی. نیکو نیّت و راست گفتار و نیکو کردار بودی، و دین پاکیزه داشتی. من آن کردار نیکو[ی][۱۸۶] توام، نیکوتر از آن که[۱۸۷] من به چشم تو به‌استم[۱۸۸]، آن[۱۸۹] که آن‌گاه که در گیتی بودی،[۱۹۰] کردی. و[۱۹۱] آب و آتش را نیکو داشتی تو به جهدت[۱۹۲] و[۱۹۳] نیازردی. و خرفستر کُشتی. و مرد اشو را نیکو[۱۹۴] داشتی. و هر که از شهری[۱۹۵] غریب آمده *بودند [140b]، و هم آن که در شهر نشسته*[۱۹۶] بودند، و غریبان را[۱۹۷] در شهر خویش جای کردی و مهمانیشان[۱۹۸] کردی و نیکوشان[۱۹۹] داشتی. و از کرفه‌های[۲۰۰]، آنچ توانی کردی، جهد کردی و[۲۰۱] به جای آوردی. من نیکو[۲۰۲] بودم، توام نیکوتر کردی. من روشن بودم،[۲۰۳] توام روشن‌تر کردی. من از همهٔ روان‌ها[۲۰۴] بالاتر بودم، تو مرا بالاتر و بزرگوارتر[۲۰۵] کردی. تا[۲۰۶] در جهان مردمان کار و کرفه کنند[۲۰۷]، من هر روز نیکوتر و[۲۰۸] روشن‌تر باشم *از سببِ ترا[۲۰۹].» دست به

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186 NN^{2}MO: نیکو

187 M: – که

188 NPO: به اسیر   M: به‌است

189 N^{2}MO: این   NP: ان

190 NPM: + و

191 M: – و

192 NPN^{2}O: – تو به جهدت

193 O: – و

194 N^2: نکو

195 P: شهر

196 M: پایین برگ بریده شده و بین دو ستاره را ندارد.

197 NPO: – را

198 M: مهمانشان

199 N^2: نیکو   M: به خاطر بریدگیِ حاشیه‌ی برگ، «نیکو» حذف شده، اما «شان» در آغاز سطر بعد آمده است.

200 NPN^2: کرفها

201 M: – جهد کردی و   O: – و

202 N^2: نکو

203 NM O: + و

204 N^2: روان را

205 P: – و بزرکوارتر

206 N^2: ما

207 N: کند   M: مردمان کار کرفه در کند

208 M: – و + در

همی راه در میان اسپرم‌ها[۱۶۶] و شکوفه‌ها می‌آید. و بوی آن اسپرم‌ها[۱۶۷] چنان خوش‌بوی بودی[۱۶۸] که تا من در گیتی بوده‌ام[۱۶۹]، از آن خوش‌تر بوی نشنیده بودم.

چون در نزدیک چینود[۱۷۰] پول رسیدم[۱۷۱]، بادی می‌آمدی از جنانتِ[۱۷۲] زیتون، که از بوی مشک و عنبر خوش‌تر بود[۱۷۳]. من در میان آن باد نگاه کردمی[۱۷٤]، صورتی دیدمی[۱۷۵] که هرگز تا من در گیتی[۱۷٦] بوده‌ام، از آن نیکوتر ندیدم. پستان‌ها در بر و گیسوی‌ها[۱۷۷] در پای کِشان. و هرچند که بیشتر در وی نگاه می‌کردم، به چشم من نیکوتر بود. چنانک هر اندامی که چشم برمی-افکندم[۱۷۸]، چشم از آن‌جا نمی‌توانستن[۱۷۹] و[۱۸۰] شایست گرفتن. و هرچند که بیشتر می‌دیدم، مرا بیشتر می‌بایست. و این روان چون آن صورت را[۱۸۱] بدید، آن صورت در روی او بخندید. پس آن روان، آن[۱۸۲] را پرسید[۱۸۳] که: «تو کیستی که هرگز از تو نیکوتر و پاکیزه‌تر و بی‌آهوتر از تو[۱۸٤] صورت ندیدم؟» و آن صورت[۱۸۵] جواب داد که: «من آن کردار نیکوی توام، که بدان جهان

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166 O: اسپریها
167 M: اسبرمهای O: اسیرمها
168 M: بود
169 N^2: که تا در من کیتی بوده‌ام M: که تا درین کیتی بوده‌ام
170 P: چنود
171 M: رسید
172 N^2: خیانت M: جنابت O: و از جانب
173 M: حاشیه‌ی برگ بریده شده و از «بود» فقط «د» باقی مانده است.
174 PO: کردم
175 PN^2O: دیدم
176 NPN^2O: – در کیتی
177 M: کیسوها
178 M: برمی‌افتکندم
179 M: نمی‌توانستم
180 O: – و
181 N^2M: – را
182 NPN^2O: – آن
183 O: پرسیدم
184 M: – تو
185 PN^2: – و آن صورت M: حاشیه‌ی برک بریده شده و از «آن صورت» تنها «ت» باقی مانده است.

همه نیکو است و نیک است و بد نکرده‌ای[۱۴۵] که بدین درجه رسیده‌ای[۱۴۶] که هرگز کس[۱۴۷] نرسیده است، گامی دیگر بر بالا نِه!» چون من گامی دیگر بر بالا نهادمی،[۱۴۸] *به[۱۴۹] چینوَد[۱۵۰] پول[۱۵۱] رسیدمی. و دیدمی پول را*[۱۵۲] مانند[۱۵۳] درختی که بسیار پهلوها داشتی. و پهلوی‌ها بود که چنان باریک بود که تیغ اُستُرِه.

[درِ دوئُم]

صفتِ دیدنِ اردا، روانی را که از تن برآمده بود[۱۵۴]

و[۱۵۵] پس چون نگاه کردمی[۱۵۶]، روان مردی[۱۵۷] دیدم [در][۱۵۸] آن جایگاه[۱۵۹]، که جان[۱۶۰] از تنش برفته و به[۱۶۱] بالین تنش نشسته بود و این سخن می‌گفت که: «خُنک باد آن کس را که از نیکیِ وی، مردمان را نیکی بُوَد[۱۶۲].» که در آن[۱۶۳] سه روز که آن[۱۶۴] جایگاه بود، چندان راحت و آسانی[۱۶۵] و خوشی بدان روان رسیده بود که در مدّت آن که در گیتی بود، نرسیده بود. وشبِ سدیگر، وقتِ بام، آن روان را دیدم که می‌آمد. و در آن راه که او می‌آمد، چنان پنداشتم که

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145 N^2: نکردۀای M: نکردۀ

146 N^2: رسیدۀای

147 N^2M: + و

148 PN^2: نهادم

149 P: بر

150 NO: چینور P: چنود

151 PL: بل

152 P: بین دو ستاره: به چینود بل رسیدم و بل را دیدم

153 NN^2MO: مانند

154 NPN^2MO: – صفت دیدن اردا روانی را که از تن برآمده بود

155 M: – و

156 P: کردم

157 N^2: مردم

158 NPM: + که. تصحیح قیاسی شد

159 O: – آنجایکاه

160 N: جانش. اما بعد روی «نش» خط کشیده و بالای آن، «ن» نوشته شده است.

161 M: – به

162 PMO: + و جنانک یک اسپرم بوی NN^2: و جنانک یک یزم بوی L: این پاره را ندارد.

163 N^2: این

164 M: این

165 O: آسان

پس دبیری دانا بیاوردند و [او] در پیش ارداویراف بنشست.

[. . .] باز خوردم، در خواب شدم.

ساعتی بگذشت[۱۲۴]. سروش اشو را دیدم که بیامدی و مرا نماز بردی[۱۲۵]. سلام کردی و گفتی: «درست آمدی ای اردای‌ویراف،[۱۲۶] از آن گیتیِ پتیاره اومند،[۱۲۷] بدین گیتیِ روشن. و هنوز وقت آمدن تو نبود که به این جهان آمده‌ای[۱۲۸].»

پس[۱۲۹] وی را[۱۳۰] خدمت کردم و گفتم: «مرا به پیغام فرستاده‌اند از آن جهان. و همه[۱۳۱] دستوران و پاکیزه‌گان[۱۳۲] [۱۳۳]بدین سبب گِرد آمده‌اند. و[۱۳۴] شاهنشاه مرا بدین مهم فرستاده[۱۳۵]، تا آگاهی[۱۳۶] از این جهان ببرم[۱۳۷].»

چون این سخن گفتم، سروش اشو دست من بگرفتی و گفتی[۱۳۸]: «ترا نیّت و اندیشه[۱۳۹] پاکیزه راست و راستی،[۱۴۰] یک گام بر بالا نِه!» من گامی بر بالا نهادم. دیگر بار گفتی[۱۴۱]: «ترا گفتار راست است و دروغ نگفته‌ای[۱۴۲]. یک گام دیگر بر بالا نِه!» من دیگربار گامی بر بالا نهادم[۱۴۳]. سدیگر گفتی:[۱۴۴] «ترا کردار

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124 P: + که

125 NPN^{2}MO: + و گفتی

126 N^2: ای ویراف NMO: ارداویراف

127 N: نیاده اومند P: نیاز اومند MO: نیاذه اومند

128 P: آمده اردای‌ویراف N^2: آمدی O: آمده‌ای ویراف

129 NN^{2}MO: – پس

130 PO: – وی را

131 N^2: – همه

132 N: باکیزکان O: پاکیزکان

133 PNMO: + و

134 O: – و

135 M: فرستاده

136 P: آکهی

137 N^2: به‌برم

138 N^2: بکرفت و کفت M: – و کفتی

139 O: + و

140 N^2: راستی است

141 N^2: مرا بکفت

142 NPMO: نکفته N^2: نکفتهٔ

143 NMO: + و

144 NO: کفتی کفتی

بعد از هفت شبان‌روز، ویراف باز جنبید و باز زئید و باز نشست.

و مردمان و دستوران چون بدیدند که ویراف از خواب درآمد[۱۰۶]، خرّمی کردند و شاد شدند و رامش پذیرفتند و بر پای ایستادند و[۱۰۷] نماز بردند و گفتند: «شاد آمدی اردای‌ویراف، و به بازبینی[۱۰۸] آن باشد که بهشتی اشو باشد.[۱۰۹] چه‌گونه آمدی، و چون رَستی، و چه دیدی؟ ما را باز گوی تا ما نیز احوال آن جهان بدانیم.»

[درِ نخست]

صفت باز آمدن اردای‌ویراف از[۱۱۰] مینو و گزارش[۱۱۱] آن[۱۱۲]

ارداویراف گفت: «اوّل چیزی بیاورید[۱۱۳] تا من بخورم، که هفت شبان‌روز است که تا این بر، هیچ چیز نیافته است و سُست شده‌ام. بعد از آن هرچه خواهید بپرسید[۱۱۴] تا شما را معلوم کنم.»

[۱۱۵]دستوران ساعتی دَرونی[۱۱۶] بِه‌یَشتند[۱۱۷]. ارداویراف واج[۱۱۸] گرفت و[۱۱۹] چیزی اندک مایه بخورد و واج بگفت. پس گفت:[۱۲۰] «این زمان دبیری[۱۲۱] دانا را بیاورید [140a] تا هرچه من دیده‌ام بگویم، و نُخسَتِ[۱۲۲] آن در جهان بفرستید، تا همه کس را کار مینو و بهشت و[۱۲۳] دوزخ معلوم شود، و قیمتِ نیکی‌کردن بدانند، و از بدکردن دور باشند.»

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106 P: برآمد
107 NN^{2}O: – و
108 N^2: بازبین
109 L: شاد آمدی ای اردای‌ویراف، که به معنی بهشتی باشد و اشو
110 L: به. تصحیح قیاسی شده است.
111 L: گذارش
112 NPN^{2}MO: – صفت بازآمدن اردای‌ویراف به مینو و گذارش آن
113 N^2: بیاوری
114 P: پرسید
115 P: + و
116 N^{2}O: درون
117 P: + و
118 P: واژ
119 NN^{2}M: – و
120 M: بکفت
121 N^2: دستوری
122 NM: نخست   N^{2}O: نسخهٔ
123 P: – و

بگزیده بودند، از گِرد بر گردِ تخت[۸۳] یزشن می‌کردند. و آن تیرست و شصت[۸۴] مرد که پیشتر بگزیده بودند،[۸۵] از گرد بر گردِ ایشان یزشن می‌کردند. و آن سی‌وشش هزار مرد،[۸۶] گرد بر گردِ آتش‌گاهِ گُنبذ[۸۷] یزشن می‌کردند. و شاهنشاه[۸۸] سلاح پوشیده[۸۹] و بر اسپ[۹۰] نشسته، با سپاه از بیرونِ گُنبذ[۹۱] می-گردیدند[۹۲] و باد را[۹۳] آن‌جا راه نمی‌دادند[۹۴]. و به هر جایی[۹۵] که این یزشن‌کنان نشسته بودند، به هر قومی، جماعتی شمشیر کشیده و سلاح پوشیده[۹۶]، [۹۷] ایستاده بودند تا گروه‌ها همه بر جایگاه خویشتن باشند و هیچ کس بدان دیگر نیامیزند[۹۸]. و آن جایگاه که تخت ویراف[۹۹] بود، از گِرد بر گِردِ[۱۰۰] تخت، پیادگان با سلاح ایستاده بودند و هیچ کسِ دیگر را، به‌جز آن شش دستور، به نزدیک تخت رها نمی‌کردند. چون[۱۰۱] شاهنشاه درآمدی[۱۰۲]، از آن‌جا بیرون آمدی و گِرد بر گِردِ آتش‌گاه نگاه می‌داشتی. و بر این سختی،[۱۰۳] کالبد ویراف[۱۰۴] نگاه می‌داشتند[۱۰۵] تا هفت شبان‌روز برآمد.

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83 M: تختت

84 P: تیراست و شست   N²: تیرست شصت

85 P: + و

86 NN²MO: سی شش هزار

87 NPN²M: کنبد

88 M: شاه‌هنشاه

89 P: بوشید

90 NPO: اسب

91 NPN²M: کنبد

92 N²: کنبدی بکردیدند

93 O: + در

94 O: ندادند

95 PN²O: جای

96 N²: – و سلاح پوشیده

97 NM: + و

98 NN²: نیامی‌زند

99 N: ویراو

100 P: + بر

101 M: جو

102 M: درآمدمی

103 O: سخن

104 N: ویراو

105 M: میداشتی شتند

پس شاهنشاه[٦٦] اردشیر با سواران سلاح درپوشید[٦٧]، و[٦٨] از گِرد بر گِردِ آتش‌گاه نگاه می‌داشت، تا نه که آشموغی یا منافقی، پنهان چیزی بر ویراف نکند که او را خللی رسد[٦٩] و چیزی بدی در میان یزشن کند که آن نیرنگ باطل شود.

پس در میان آتش‌گاه تختی بنهادند و جامه‌های[٧٠] پاکیزه برافکندند و ویراف را بر آن تخت نشاندند و روی‌بند[٧١] بر وی فرو گذاشتند. و آن چهل هزار مرد بر یزشن‌کردن ایستادند. و دَرونی بِه‌یَشتند و قدری سه‌یکی[٧٢] بر آن دَرون نهادند.

چون تمام بِه‌یَشتند، یک قدح شراب به ویراف دادند به هُمَت مَنِشنِه، یعنی که از اعتقادی و نیّتی خالص[٧٣] راست. و *یکی دیگر به هوخت گُویِشنِه*[٧٤] بدو دادند، یعنی از قولی صادق[٧٥] و گُوِشنی راست. و یک قدحی[٧٦] دیگر به هُوَرشت[٧٧] وَرزِشن[٧٨] بدو دادند، یعنی کرداری پسندیده.

بعد از آن، ویراف چون این سه قدح خورده بود، سر به بستر همان‌جا باز نهاد و به خواب *شد.

و هفت شبان‌روز*[٧٩] ایشان هم‌چنان[٨٠] یزشن می‌کردند. و آن شش دستور[٨١] به بالین ویراف نشسته بودند[٨٢]. و آن سی و سه مردِ دیگر که

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66 N^2: شهنشاه

67 M: دربوشیده

68 MO: – و

69 NPMO: رسند

70 P: + بر

71 N^2: در زیر «روی‌بند»، با خطی ریز نوشته است: «پنام».

72 M: سه یکی NPO: سیکی N^2: قدحی می سنکی

73 NPM: خاص

74 M: حاشیه‌ی برگ بریده شده و بین دو ستاره را ندارد

75 N^2: صاف

76 PM: قدح

77 M: بهورشته

78 L: ورزشتی

79 M: حاشیه‌ی برگ بریده شده و بین دو ستاره را ندارد

80 M: «هم‌چنان» در حاشیه‌ی برگ است که بریده شده و حذف شده. تنها یکی دو حرف ناتمام مانده که خوانا نیست.

81 M: دروستور

82 NPM: بود

و ویراف سر و تن بشُست، و جامهٔ[۴۳] سفید درپوشید،[۴۴] و[۴۵] بویِ خوش بر[۴۶] خویشتن کرد، و[۴۷] پیش آتش بیستاد[۴۸] و از همهٔ[۴۹] گناهها پَتَفت بکرد.

[۵۰] ویراف را هفت خواهر بودند[۵۱]. و چون آن خبر بدانستند، هر هفت بیامدند و زاری و گریه کردند و گفتند که: «ما هفت سرپوشیده در خانه‌ایم، و برادر، خود به‌جز این نداریم، و امید ما همه بدوی است[۵۲]. اکنون شما او را [139b][۵۳] بدان جهان خواهی[۵۴] فرستاد. و ما ندانیم که دیگر، روی او باز بینیم یا نه. و ما را یَسیر[۵۵] به‌خواهی[۵۶] کردن. از پدر و مادر جدا شدیم و[۵۷] از برادر نیزمان[۵۸] جدا خواهی کردن. ما نگذاریم. چه ما [را] همین یک برادر است[۵۹]. شما کسِ دیگر برگزینید و این برادر به[۶۰] ما رها کنید.»

دستوران چون این سخن[۶۱] بشنیدند[۶۲] گفتند: «شما هیچ اندوه مبرید و میندیشید[۶۳]، که ما را[۶۴] تا هفت روز دیگر، ویراف را تن‌درست با شما سپاریم.» و سوگند بخوردند. و خواهران خورسند[۶۵] شدند و بازگردیدند.

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[43] M: جامه

[44] P: درپوشیده

[45] P: – و

[46] O: در

[47] M: – و

[48] PN^2O: بایستاد

[49] M: همه

[50] P: + و

[51] N^2: بود

[52] M: بدو بدویست. اما بعد روی «بدو»ی نخست خط کشیده شده است.

[53] N^2O: + نه M: + نه. اما بعد روی آن خط کشیده شده است.

[54] N^2: خواهید

[55] M: پسیر

[56] M: به‌خواهی

[57] O: – و

[58] P: برادر ما نیز N^2: برادرمان نیز O: برادر نیز ما

[59] N^2: چه در هفت ما همین یک برادرست

[60] N^2: – به

[61] P: – سخن

[62] NPO: شنیدند

[63] M: مندیشید

[64] N^2: – را

[65] NN^2MO: خرسند

بعد از آن، شاه فرمود که: «مرا می‌باید که این شکّ و گمان از دین برخیزد و مردمان، همه بر دینِ[۲۹] اورمزد و زراتشت[۳۰] باشند و گفت‌وگوی[۳۱] از دین برخیزد،[۳۲] چنانک مرا و همه عالمیان و دانایان[۳۳] را[۳۴] روشن شود که دین کدام است و این شکّ وگمان از دین بیفتند[۳۵].»

بعد از آن، ایشان پاسخ دادند که: «کس این خبر باز نتواند دادن[۳۶] الاّ آن کس که از اوّلِ عمرِ هشت سالگی تا بدان وقت که رسیده باشد، هیچ گناه نکرده باشد، و این مرد، ویراف است، که از او پاکیزه‌تر و مینوروشن‌تر و راست‌گوی‌تر کس نیست. و این قصه، اختیار بر وی باید کردن. و ما شش‌گانهٔ دیگر، یَزِشن‌ها و نیرنگ‌ها که در دین[۳۷] از بهرِ این کار گفته است، به جای آوریم، تا ایزد عَزّوَجَل احوال‌ها به ویراف نماید، و ویراف ما را از آن خبر دهد، تا همه کس به دین اورمزد و زراتشت[۳۸] بی‌گمان شوند.»

و ویراف این کار در خویشتن پذیرفت.

و شاه اردشیر آن سخن را[۳۹] خوش آمد.

و پس گفتند: «این کار راست نگردد، الاّ که به درگاه آدران شوند.» و پس برخاستند و عزم کردند و[۴۰] برفتند.

[۴۱]بعد از آن، آن[۴۲] شش مرد که دستوران بودند، از یک سویِ آتشگاه یزشن‌ها ساختند، و آن چهل، دیگر سوی‌ها، با چهل هزار مردِ دستوران که به درگاه آمده بودند، همه یزشن‌ها ساختند.

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29 P: بدین

30 N^{2}MO: زرتشت　　P: پاک شده و خوانا نیست

31 NO: کفتکوی

32 NPM: + و

33 P: این واژه پاک شده. اما در حاشیه، با اشاره به جایِ واژه‌ی پاک‌شده، با خطی دیگر، اضافه شده: «دستوران».

34 NO: – را　　P: آسیب دیده و پاک شده

35 O: بیفتد

36 N^2: آوردن

37 M: + که

38 N^{2}MO: زرتشت

39 P: و شاه اردشیر را این سخن　　N^2: و شاه اردشیر را نیز آن سخن

40 P: – و

41 M: + و

42 N^2: – آن

و کس بفرستاد به همه ولایت‌ها، هر[14] جایگاه که دانایی و یا دستوری بود،[15] همه را به درگاه خود خواند. چهل‌هزار مرد بر درگاه[16] انبوه شد[17]. پس بفرمود و گفت: «آن‌هایی[18] که از این[19] داناترند،[20] باز بینید.»

چهارهزار داناتر از آن جمله برگزیدند و شاهان‌شاه[21] را خبر کردند. و [شاهان‌شاه] گفت: «دیگر بار احتیاط بکنید. دیگر نوبت، از آن جمله، قومی که به تمیز[22] عاقل‌تر، و اَفِستا و َزند بیشتر از بَر دارند، جدا کنید*[23].»

چهارصد مرد برآمد، که ایشان اَفِستا و َزند بیشتر از بَر داشتند. دیگر باره احتیاط کردند. در میان ایشان چهل مرد بگزیدند که ایشان اَفِستا جمله در[24] بَر داشتند. دیگر، در میان آن چهل کس، هفت مرد بودند که از اوّلِ عمر تا به[25] آن روزگار که ایشان رسیده بودند، بر ایشان هیچ گناه پیدا نیامده بود، و به غایت عظیم پهریخته[26] بودند، و پاکیزه دل در مَنِشن و گُوِشن و کونِشن[27]، و دل در ایزد بسته بودند.

بعد از آن، هر هفت به[28] نزدیک شاه اردشیر بردند.

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14 N^2: همه

15 O: + و

16 P: بدرکاه

17 N^2: شدند

18 PN^2: آنهای

19 M: ازین N^2: از آن. «این» در این‌جا به معنای «اینان» است.

20 N: از یزداناترند P: از این داناترند (شاید: «از دین داناترند»، چون در میکروفیلم زیاد خوانا نیست) N^2: از آن داناترند O: ایزد داناترند

21 P: شاهنشاه

22 NPN^2M: + و

23 M: بین دو ستاره، از نخستین سطر متن تا این‌جا، با خطی دیگر، در برگ 1a نوشته شده است که در مقایسه با خودِ متن، چند واژه‌ای کم دارد. در پیِ این پاره، چهار بیت از آغاز شاهنامه‌ی فردوسی نیز آمده، که شماری از واژه‌های آن، هم اشتباه نوشته شده و هم در میکروفیلم ناخواناست: بنام خداوند جان و خرد / کزین برتر اندیشه برنگذرد / خدا و جان و خداوند جای / خداوند روزی‌ده رهنمای / این که بر حرح سیاره کرد / سست سرایم بعد از ان شاه جهانرا / سر سر خیل شاهان جهاندار و جهانکیر. دو بیت نخستینِ این چهار بیت، در روایت پازند ارداى‌ويراف‌نامه هم آمده است.

24 N^2M: از

25 M: با

26 P: پرهیخته

27 NN^2MO: کنشن O: – کنشن

28 O: – به

به نام ایزد بخشاینده بخشایش‌گر مهربان دادگر[1]

اردای‌ویراف‌نامه[2]

سپاس دارم ایزدی را که ما را بیافرید، چنانک[3] [139a] *خواست وخواهد. و در[ود] بر پیغامـ[ـبر][4].

اما[5] بعد؛

ایدون گویند که چون شاه اردشیر بابکان[6] به پادشاهی بنشست، نَوَد پادشاه بکُشت، و بعضی گویند نَوَد و شش پادشاه[7] بکُشت، و جهان را از دشمنان خالی کرد و آرمیده گردانید. و دستوران و موبدانی[8] که در آن زمانه[9] بودند، همه را پیش خویشتن[10] خواند و گفت که: «دینِ راست و[11] درست که ایزد تعالی به زرتشتِ علیه گفت و زرتشت در گیتی روا کرد، مرا باز نمایند، تا من این کیش‌ها و گفت‌وگوی‌ها[12] از جهان بَر کَنم و اعتقاد با یکی آورم[13].»

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[1] N: ناخوانا. به یادداشت‌ها نگاه شود P: بنام ایزد بخشایندهٔ مهربان دادکر N^2 : بنام ایزد بخشایندهٔ مهربان M: – بنام ایزد بخشاینده بخشایشکر مهربان دادکر O: بنام ایزد L: بنام ایزد بخشائنده بخشایشکر مهربان

[2] N: – اردای‌ویراف‌نامه P: «کتاب اردای‌ویراف‌نامه» N^2 : «کتاب ارداویراف نثر نوشته شد» M: «ویراف منثور» در بالای سمت چپِ برگ 0a، و «ویراف‌نامه در نثر ناقص»، در وسط همان صفحه O: «اردای‌ویراف نثر» Ĺ: «اغاز داستان ویراف و قصه شاه اردشیر» در برگ 1a، و «اغاز داستان ویراف‌نامه و قصهٔ شاه اردشیر بابکان انوشیروان» در برگ 1b.

[3] P: جنانکه O: بخاک

[4] N: به اندازه‌ی یک‌چهارم سطر، بین «پیغام» و «اما» فاصله افتاده و سفید مانده است. P: به اندازه‌ی یک واژه خالی و سفید مانده است. N^2: از آغاز تا این‌جا را ندارد و متن آن، با «اما بعد» آغاز می‌شود.

[5] MO: ما

[6] NMO: + و چون PN^2: + چون

[7] N^2: + را

[8] PN^2O: موبدان

[9] M: زمان

[10] N^2: خویش

[11] NP: – و

[12] M: کفت‌وکوءیـها O: کفت‌کویها

[13] N^2: آرم

ارداى ويراف نامه

[روايت فارسى زردشتى]

تصحيح داريوش كارگر